On *Kao* in *Kao wo Tsubusu*:
Interdependent Social Face in Japanese

Thesis

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Abstract

As a collectivistic, high-context culture (Ting-Toomey 1988, Morisaki and Gudykunst 1994), Japanese social interaction and language are deeply rooted in the social roles given to actors within the culture. When these roles are not fulfilled, a loss of social "face" occurs (Matsumoto 1988). This social "face" and physical "face" overlap in the expression *kao wo tsubusu* (lit. "to smash face").

The current study investigates this expression in two ways. The first examines the situations in which *kao wo tsubusu* is used to describe a loss of social face in *The Yomiuri Shinbun* website's *Hatsugen Komachi* advice page. For each situation, the information such as the social and relational roles of the actors, as well as what is at stake (circumstances) and whose face is smashed by the action of whom (agency) was gathered and analyzed. All losses of face were related to the failure to carry out the cultural performance expected of social obligations in work and family environments and of all parties concerned when work or a relationship is suggested. The expression was not used when speaking about oneself in any of the social situations, but always to someone else.

The second part consisted of a survey of native speakers to confirm this finding that *kao* in *kao wo tsubusu* is used only when speaking about the other in a facework interaction. The study participants chose the acceptability of a given sentence on a scale of 1-7 in order to test grammatical person and the self-other face dichotomy in sentences using *kao wo tsubusu*.

The results of the survey confirm that the expression cannot be used when speaking about oneself, but always to someone else. This suggests that a distinction between "relational" face and "personal" face is needed in the discussion of face and facework. The social face "transferred" and referred to as *kao* in *kao wo tsubusu* faces outwards towards the community from which it came and can be labeled "relational face." In taking on a role in society, a person takes on a mask given to them and is evaluated by cultural and social norms and expectations. In Japan, it is this mask and the face wants of the particular role that they are playing that is at stake in the circumstances examined. Since this social "relational" face is directed outwards, it is impossible for the *kao* smashed in *kao wo tsubusu* to belong to its wearer.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

As a collectivistic, high-context culture (Ting-Toomey 1988, Morisaki and Gudykunst 1994), Japanese social interaction and language are deeply rooted in the social roles given to actors within the culture. When these roles are not fulfilled, a loss of social 'face' occurs (Matsumoto 1988, 1989, Mao 1994). Goffman (1967) defines face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" that is "located in the flow of events," supported by the judgments of others and endorsed by "impersonal agencies in the situation" (5-7). Face is a public image on loan to individuals from society that can be withdrawn from them if they are found not to be worthy of it (10). Goffman calls the act of maintaining this public image "facework."

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) use Goffman's (1967) "facework" model as a basis for their theory of face and politeness. Brown and Levinson create a hypothetical Model Person who is "a willful fluent speaker of a natural language" and has two properties in the model: rationality and face (1978: 63). Brown and Levinson define face as "something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (1978: 66). Brown and Levinson (1978) link patterns of language use as crucial parts of the expression of social

relationships. Thus, language use and the expression of social relationships is the key to identifying the link between language and society (60-1).

Social face in Japanese society can be defined as "honor, pride, claimed self-image, trustworthiness, individual standing or rank, politeness, considerateness, dignity" (Murakami 2004). Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) identify several words used to describe this concept of social face in Japanese language: *kao, mentsu, menmoku,* and *taimen. Kao* is special in that it can have three meanings: physical face, reputation, and social face. The social face reading of *kao* appears in the set idioms *kao wo tsubusu*, which means to lose face (literally "to smash face") and its opposite *kao wo tateru* (literally to "build face") (48). The usage of *kao* in these set idioms presents an interesting situation in which facework in Japanese culture and how it is lexically represented and grammaticalized in Japanese language overlap. That is, as Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) suggest that patterns in language use are intimately linked to society and social relationships, the facework model at work in Japanese culture could influence the way language is used. Thus, by studying the way in which the language is used, clues to the structure of facework and society and social relationships in general can be gathered.

The purpose of the present study is to examine the situations in which *kao wo tsubusu* is used to describe a loss of social face and to place *kao* within the mechanisms of social interaction and existing models of facework. Who is the owner of *kao* in *kao wo tsubusu*, and when face is lost, who is the actor 'smashing' that face? Can one describe a loss of their own face as *kao wo tsubusu*? These questions hope to answer not only

linguistic questions about the use of the phrase, but also to shed light on the link between the use of language and the structure of facework in society and social relationships.

The organization of this thesis is as follows: Chapter 2 will outline previous studies on facework models and will introduce concepts that influence a culturally centered model of facework and provide a background from which to understand *kao* in *kao wo tsubusu*. Chapter 3 will introduce a pilot study. It explores situations where face is lost and described as *kao wo tsubusu.* For this study, the Japanese newspaper The *Yomiuri Shinbun*'s internet advice column *Hatsugen Komachi* (http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/) was used as a corpus. A follow-up study to confirm the findings of the pilot study by a survey of native speakers is discussed in Chapter 4. A comparison between the data collected on *kao wo tsubusu* in the studies found in Chapters 3 and 4 is discussed in Chapter 5 along with a proposed addition to the existing models of facework. The chapter closes with conclusions and implications of the studies for further research on face and facework.

Chapter 2: Previous Studies

2.1. Introduction

In the models formulated to explain Goffman's (1967) concept of facework by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), Ting-Toomey (1988), Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994), and Mao (1994), taking into account concepts brought to light by Matsumoto (1988, 1989, 2003) and Pizziconi (2003), where can the word *kao* be placed in models of facework when used in the phrase *kao wo tsubusu*? In order to connect the lexical use of *kao wo tsubusu* to larger concepts in culture and society, a general understanding of the elements of facework and how it is conceptualized is required. This chapter discusses the previous studies mentioned above, beginning with Goffman's (1967) conception of face and the politeness model based on Goffman's concept of "facework" that was then put forth by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) in Section 2.2. From there, challenges to Brown and Levinson's model, Matsumoto (1988, 1989), Pizziconi's (2003) criticism of Matsumoto (1988, 1989) and Matsumoto's (2003) reply appear in Section 2.3. Section 2.4 explores Ting-Toomey (1988), Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994), and Mao's (1994) models towards a culturally universal understanding of face called for by Matsumoto and Pizziconi. Discussion of lexical issues brought to light in Mao's (1994) discussion of Chinese facework and Morisaki and Gudykunst's (1994) discussion of words for face in Japanese in Section 2.5 serve as background to Murakami's (2004) study of Japanese

facework using the word *menmoku*. The chapter concludes with a summary of the previous studies and the direction in which the study in Chapter 3 will follow.

2.2. Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987)

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) take the concept of face from Goffman's (1967) model and an "English folk term"(66). Goffman defines face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (1967: 5). Face is not a private or personal property but one that is "located in the flow of events," supported by the judgments of others and endorsed by "impersonal agencies in the situation" (7). Goffman's face is one that embodies a public image on loan to individuals from society that can be withdrawn from them if they are found not to be worthy of it (10). Goffman calls the act of maintaining this public image, "facework," which is composed of a "defensive orientation" centered on saving their own face and a "protective orientation" that aims to not make others in interactions lose face (14). Facework is additionally divided into the "avoidance process" of avoiding actions and situations that might threaten face, and the "corrective process" of protecting face (15-23).

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) use Goffman's (1967) facework model as a basis for their theory of face and model of politeness. Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) create a Model Person (MP) who is "a willful fluent speaker of a natural language" and has two properties in the model: rationality and face (1978: 63). Brown and Levinson, in addition to Goffman's (1967) definitions of face, make use of an "English folk term" in their definition of 'face' as notions of being embarrassed or humiliated, 'losing face,' or

"something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (1978: 66). Face in the model of the MP is defined as a public self-image that every member of society wants to claim for himself or herself that can be further divided into two parts: positive and negative face. Negative face, as claimed by Brown and Levinson, is aligned closely with traditional ideas of formal politeness. It is defined as "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction" or more simply "freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (66-7). Positive face, however, is "the desire to be ratified, understood, approved of, liked or admired" and is defined as the positive consistent self-image or "personality" claimed by interactants (66).

With these definitions of 'face,' Brown and Levinson then outline Face Threatening Acts (FTAs), which threaten either the positive or negative face of the participants in a given interaction and might result in a 'loss of face' by the hearer at the hands of the speaker. Threats to negative face in this model include orders, requests, suggestions, threats, warnings, offers, promises, envy, and expressions of strong negative emotions. On the other hand, expressions of disapproval, criticism, contempt or ridicule, complaints or reprimands, accusations, insults, contradictions, disagreements, challenges, mention of taboo topics, emotionally charged topics, interruptions, non-attention, and misidentification are acts threatening positive face (1978:70-2). There are also FTAs that threaten the speaker's own face rather than the hearer. These situations include, but are not limited to expressions of thanks, excuses, acceptance of offers, and unwilling offers and promises that threaten the speaker's negative face, as well as apologies, acceptance of a compliment, a breakdown of physical control over one's body, and 'emotional

leakage' that threaten a speaker's positive face (72-3). Brown and Levinson also assert in their model that while the 'content' of face, the limits of personal territories and public personality, will differ across all cultures, the fundamental knowledge of public self-image in social interactions is universal (67). While Brown and Levinson speak of the importance of linking society and culture to language, their claim to the universality of their face model is challenged by the studies below.

2.3. Challenges to Brown and Levinson's Negative Face

In reply to Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), Matsumoto (1988) criticizes the MP model, claiming that it does not fit the conventions of 'face' in Japanese language and culture, particularly the concept of negative face. The concept of wanting to be unimpeded in one's actions presupposes that the central unit of society is the individual, which Matsumoto contends is not the case in Japanese society. Instead, "Japanese generally must understand where s/he stands in relation to other members of the group or society, and must acknowledge his/her dependence on the others" and rather than preservation of an individual's territory, instead acknowledgment and maintenance of the relative position of others governs social interaction (405). Rather than individual wants and desires, Matsumoto argues that in Japanese culture, the components of face are based more on the culture of societal groups and a particular group's position in the societal hierarchy (423). In addition, there is no socially unmarked form, and thus "a Japanese speaker must always convey an attitude towards the social relationship […] to the extent that […] each utterance can potentially cause embarrassment and loss of face"(419). In other words, all phrases in Japanese can be considered potentially FTAs. Instead of

Brown and Levinson's two-way model, Matsumoto (1988) calls for a more universal model of politeness that depends more heavily on the context of the culture and its social norms surrounding the language being used. However, she does not elaborate on how this may be accomplished, offering no solution to the problem to which she calls attention. Pizziconi (2003) challenges Matsumoto's view.

Pizziconi (2003) takes a different direction from Matsumoto, instead trying to fit the arguments presented by Matsumoto into the original Brown and Levinson model, and therefore proving that the framework for politeness in Japanese is no different than in English. Pizziconi states:

> "If differences or cultural-specific facts are to be found, it will not be in the mechanics of the devices deployed to indicate the speakers' concern with the maintenance of both aspects of face. Rather, it will be in the specific content of face (what constitutes a loss, or a gain of face) and in the extent that this needs to be overly attended to. In terms of the universality of positive and negative 'attitudes' to both aspects of face, Japanese speakers will be shown to have very similar concerns towards each other (and themselves)." (1473)

Pizziconi continues that while cultures will have different interactional norms, the very basis of choices in interactions is the domain or territory of the speakers and how close one may get to another's territory, how "involved, appreciative, etc. one needs [to be] in order to function competently and successfully in a specific social context" (1499). The

choices made in interactions are thus still closely linked to the concepts of positive and negative face as proposed by Brown and Levinson.

In determining culturally based "appropriateness," Pizziconi (2003) departs from Brown and Levinson and suggests that a "more dynamic framework is needed to analyze what appropriateness is made of" and that the tendency to generalize and stereotype norms of speakers while ignoring specific individual speaker behavior should be carefully watched. Pizziconi offers "culturally distinct patterns in stance-act-activity-identity relations" as a starting point for defining cultural appropriateness in linguistic politeness. Research should then focus on more general face threatening and face respecting stances (1501). However, this view of face is very generalized, and does not suggest how this new direction in research may be accomplished.

Matsumoto (2003) replies to Pizziconi (2003), re-stating and clarifying the claims made in Matsumoto's (1988) original paper. Matsumoto clarifies that her objections are not in the universality of the politeness model as a whole, but that the division of face into only two narrowly-defined categories have limited the situations to which the model could be applied, especially that of 'negative face' (1516-7). Matsumoto also mentions that her original intent is simply to question the "efficacy of employing what appeared to be an English folk concept in a universal account of linguistic politeness" (1517). In response to Pizziconi's claim that Matsumoto is relying too heavily on stereotypes of Japanese language usage, Matsumoto explains:

> "The Japanese examples were chosen and outlined simply to illustrate that the constituents of 'face' can be different from the specific notions of 'positive face'

> and 'negative face' in Brown and Levinson's proposal and to show the importance of allowing variability of the content of 'face.'" (1518)

Overall, Matsumoto (2003) stresses the view of linguistic, social, and cultural phenomena exhibiting fractal complexity that deserves careful study and attention in creating "subgroups," rather than losing the individuals and groups to the generalization of society. This, Matsumoto points out, is not very different from Pizziconi's suggestion at all. However, while this argument highlights that a more emic perspective in the study of face is needed, it does not offer any suggestions for new paradigms. That is offered instead by Ting-Toomey (1988), and her redesigned facework model.

2.4. Culturally Universal Models of Face

Also in response to Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), Ting-Toomey (1988) formulates a framework that uses both positive and negative face and the components of different cultures to explain conflict styles and face-negotiation much in the way Matsumoto and Pizziconi argued. Ting-Toomey states that face and conflict styles are two culturally grounded concepts where culture "provides the larger interpretive frame in which "face" and "conflict style" can be meaningfully expressed and maintained" and the place from which interactants "draw their norms and values" (213). Directly referring to Brown and Levinson's positive and negative face model, Ting-Toomey states that while both are present in all cultures, "the value orientations of a culture will influence cultural members' attitudes towards pursuing one set of facework [positive or negative] more actively than others in a face-negotiation situation" (216).

Thus, Ting-Toomey (1988) introduces a model of facework and two concepts within face-negotiation theory that account for cultural differences. Her model of facework operates on two dimensions: (1) the needs of positive and negative face, that is, concern for autonomy "dissociation" and concern for inclusion "association," and (2) the self-concern and other-concern, which is "the individual's orientation toward attention to self versus other" (219). These two dimensions create four quadrants for her facework model (see Figure 1). Self-Face concern is divided into two concepts on the basis of positive and negative face wants. On the positive "association" side, there is Self Positive Face (SPF), and on the negative "disassociation" side there is Self Negative-Face (SNF). On the Other-Face concern side, there are Other Positive-Face (OPF) and Other Negative-Face (ONF).

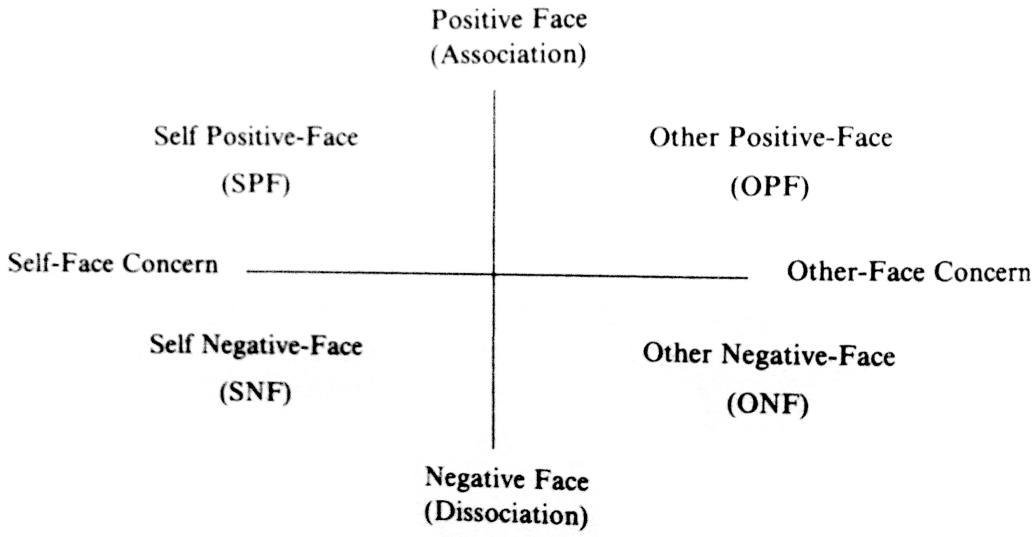

Figure 2.1. Two-dimensional model of facework from Ting-Toomey (1988: Figure 9.1).

SPF maintenance in the Ting-Toomey model contains the strategies to defend and protect the self's need for inclusion and association. The maintenance of SNF, on the

other hand, means protecting freedom, space, and autonomy for the self. On the side of Other-Face concern, OPF contains the strategies to defend and support the Other's need for inclusion and association and ONF contains the strategies to respect the Other's need for freedom, space, and dissociation, respectively (Ting-Toomey 219).

In addition to this model, Ting-Toomey (1988) introduces two culturally based concepts that define how this facework model works across cultures. The first is the individualism-collectivism spectrum. This is related to "the degree to which one wishes to project an "authentic self" in a situation and the degree to which one chooses to maintain a 'social self,' depending on the concept of selfhood in different cultures (215). Individualistic cultures tend to focus on the self-identity, while the collectivistic cultures focus more on the group identity. In the words of the facework model, individualistic cultures focus mainly on SPF and SNF maintenance and negative-face need while collectivistic cultures focus on all four components: SPF, SNF, OPF, ONF maintenance and the "interdependence, reciprocal obligations, and positive face need" (224). In this framework, the cultures of the United States, Australia, and Germany fall on the individualistic end of the continuum while the cultures of East Asia fall towards the end of the collectivistic end.

The second concept that builds on Ting-Toomey's (1988) model is high-context cultures (HCC) versus low-context cultures (LCC). While the individualism-collectivism spectrum accounts for cultural ideologies about facework, Ting-Toomey asserts that the LCC-HCC continuum accounts for the differing communication styles between cultures in facework: "while meanings in the LCC are overtly displayed through direct communication forms, meanings in the HCC are implicitly embedded at different levels

of the sociocultural context" (225). LCC, like individualistic cultures, focus on self-identity in facework while HCC focus more on group identity (226). While both LCC and HCC have positive and negative face and maintain SPF, SNF, OPF, and ONF, LCC focuses more on negative face needs and uses SPF and SNF strategies and HCC uses more OPF and ONF strategies addressing positive face needs (226). Ting-Toomey adds that in the HCC system "the concept of 'face' is always an other-directed concept. Without the approval or disapproval of other people surrounding the self, the concept of 'face' does not exist" (227). While "face" is a relatively free concept in LCC that "exists only in the immediate time-space that involves the two conflicting parties," in HCC in contrast it is "an obligatory concept…that reflects one's status hierarchy, role position, and power resource" (228). See Table 1 for detailed constructs in these two types of cultures.

Key Constructs of "Face"	Individualistic, Low-Context Cultures	Collectivistic, High-Context Cultures
Identity	emphasis on "I" identity	emphasis on "we" identity
Concern	self-face concern	other-face concern
Need	autonomy, dissociation, negative-face need	inclusion, association, positive-face need
Suprastrategy	self positive-face and self negative-face	other positive-face and other negative-face
Mode	direct mode	indirect mode
Style	controlling style or confrontation style, and solution-oriented style	obliging style or avoidance style, and affective-oriented style
Strategy	distributive or competitive strategies	integrative or collaborative strategies
Speech act	direct speech acts	indirect speech acts
Nonverbal act	individualistic nonverbal acts, direct emotional expressions	contextualistic (role-oriented) nonverbal acts, indirect emotional expressions

Table 2.1. Summary of the difference between Individualistic, Low-Context and Collectivistic High-Context Cultures and Facework from Ting-Toomey (1988: Table 9.1).

Ting-Toomey highlights the United States and Japan as examples of LCC and HCC, respectively (225).

To summarize these concepts in her model, Ting-Toomey then lists twelve theoretical propositions (or predictions) about the nature of facework and conflict strategies within LCC and HCC. For the discussion of facework, propositions 1-6 best describe Ting-Toomey (1988)'s facework model:

> "*Proposition 1:* Members of individualistic LC cultures tend to express a greater degree of self-face maintenance in a conflict situation than do members of collectivistic HC cultures.
>
> *Proposition 2:* Members of collectivistic HC cultures tend to express a greater degree of mutual-face or other-face maintenance than do members of individualistic LC cultures.

> *Proposition 3:* Members of Individualistic LC cultures would tend to use more autonomy-preserving strategies (negative face-need) in managing conflict than would members of collectivistic HC cultures.
>
> *Proposition 4:* Members of collectivistic HC cultures would tend to use more approval-seeking strategies (positive face need) in managing conflict than would members of individualistic LC cultures.
>
> *Proposition 5:* Members of individualistic LC cultures would tend to use more SPF and SNF suprastrategies than would members of collectivistic HC cultures.
>
> *Proposition 6*: Members of collectivistic HC cultures would tend to use more OPF and ONF suprastrategies than would members of individualistic LC cultures." (226-7)

These propositions clarify the strategies involved in facework between collectivistic high-context cultures and individualistic low-context cultures. Ting-Toomey postulates that in collectivistic high-context cultures, face maintenance is directed toward other and mutual face using OPF and ONF maintenance strategies and positive face needs while face maintenance in individual low-context cultures is directed towards self maintenance, negative face needs, and SPF and SNF maintenance strategies. Thus, Japanese culture, as a collectivistic high-context culture, facework is expected to center on other and mutual face maintenance and positive face wants of inclusion and approval.

What is not included in her model, specifically in the case of the collectivistic cultures, is the existence of face belonging to groups rather than individuals as well as the existence of a mutual face that must be maintained by two parties that belong perhaps to the same group. For this, Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) expand on Ting-Toomey's model with their look at the differences in face and facework between Japanese and American cultures.

Building on Ting-Toomey's model and the example of the individualistic/low-context culture and the collectivistic/high-context culture of the United States and Japan,

Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) take a closer look at the differences between face in Japan and the United States. They add another important dichotomy to the list of sociocultural concepts that shape facework*: independent* and *interdependent* face. Individualistic Western cultures have independent face separate from the face of any others. Facework is on the person-to-person level of communication, and only two people have to be present for face-negotiation to occur (57). Interdependent collectivist cultures, on the other side of the spectrum, instead negotiate face in terms of their relative position to others. Echoing Ting-Toomey (1988), Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) emphasize reciprocity and social relations in face-negotiation that only occur "when a person is interdependent with others…when three or more persons are involved" (58). Morisaki and Gudykunst believe that there is a direct connection between individualistic and collectivistic cultures and the independent and interdependent constructions of face: "the independent construal of self *predominates* in individualistic cultures and the interdependent construal of self *predominates* in collectivistic cultures" (59, emphasis in original). While independent face defines social interaction in individualistic cultures and interdependent face in collectivistic cultures, they maintain that independent and interdependent face exists in all cultures with only the focus changing across cultures (59, 65).

Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) argue that by this logic, the location of face in Japan is at "the intersection of interdependent selves" which can be seen as the intersection of the circle in Figure 2.2 from Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) where the circles are individuals and the overlap is where face is said to be located. In Morisaki and Gudykunst's model, as shown in Figure 2.2, Person A and Person B are assumed to be

two members of separate social groups in Japan. Person A and Person B both share some parts of self-face with the other members of their group who are represented by the other circles that overlap with them, represented by (1) and (2) if A is the referent. This is referred to as interdependent mutual-self-face as it is self-face shared by A with A's group. Interdependent mutual-other-face is located at the intersections labeled (3), (5), (6), and (7) when A is the referent. Interdependent self-group-face and interdependent other-group-face fall into the intersections (4) and (8), respectively. The major face-need being addressed in all cases of interaction are that of inclusion and approval, and in intergroup settings, Japanese are predicted to be concerned most with all the interdependent face types (1)-(8) in ongoing relationships and mutual-self-face (1) and (2) and self-group-face (4) in situations without an ongoing relationship (Morisaki and Gudykunst 1994: 72-3).

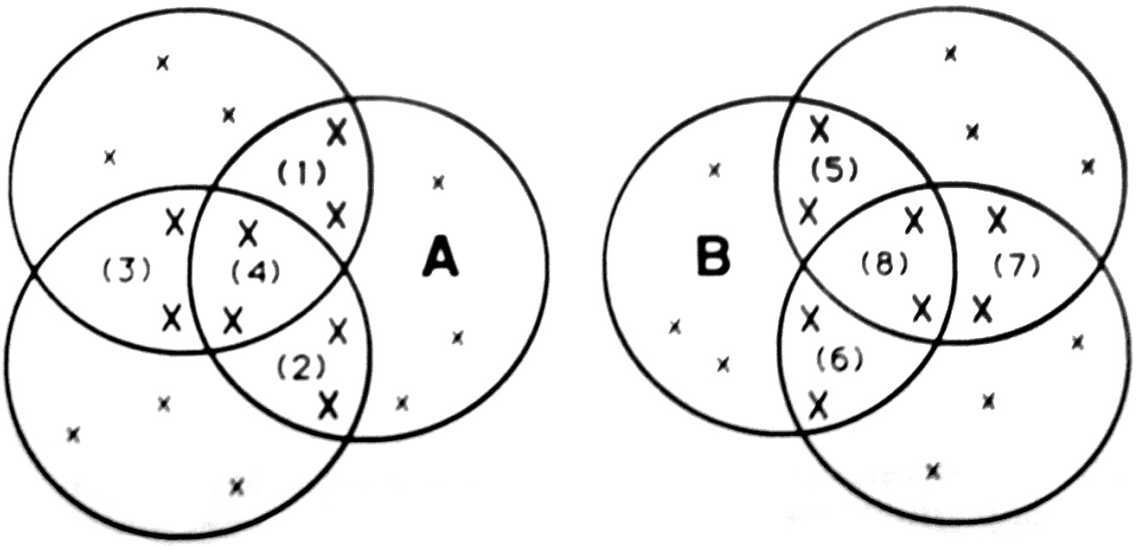

Figure 2.2. Interdependent face in intergroup situations in Japan from Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994: Figure 6). "With A as the referent: (1), (2) = interdependent mutual-self-face; (3), (5), (6), (7) = interdependent mutual-other-face; (4) = interdependent self-group-face; (8) = interdependent other-group-face" (73).

Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) maintain that while in collectivistic cultures, interdependent face predominates, independent face is not completely absent (59). They illustrate the situation in which independent face is at play in an interaction in Figure 2.3. With A as the referent, A is the self and B is simply the other. Interdependent face, as defined by Morisaki and Gudykunst, is located where identities overlap. In the model in Figure 2.3, there is no overlap in identities, thus the face represented is independent face[1].

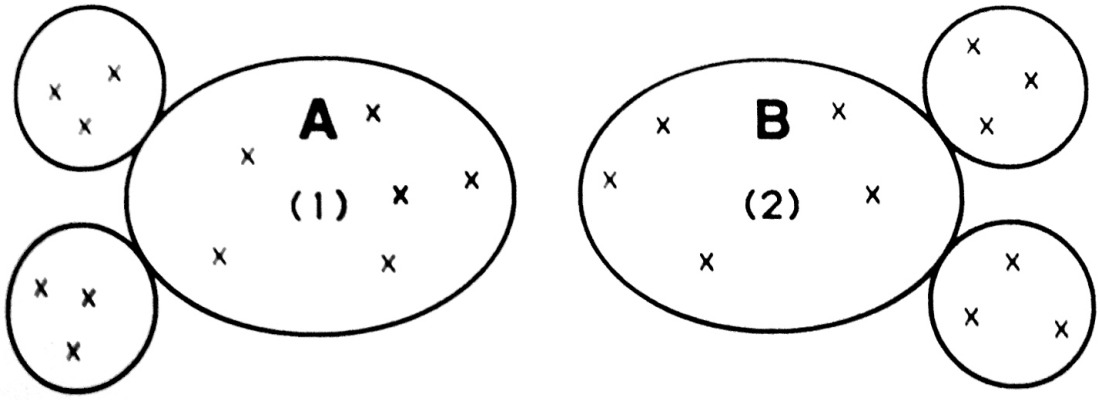

Figure 2.3. Independent face in interpersonal situations in Japan from Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994: Figure 8). "With "A" as the referent: (1) = Independent self-self [face]; (2) = Independent other-self" (75).

Mao (1994) also ties the concept of identity and societal relations in the same way as Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) in an outline of face mechanisms in the HC collectivist culture of China. Mao, like Matsumoto (1988, 1989), Ting-Toomey (1988), and Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994), also criticizes Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) facework model in terms of face in the HC collectivistic culture of China. Mao argues

[1] For a further discussion of the conceptualization of face on varying levels of identity tied to individuals and groups see Spencer-Oatey (2007).

that Brown and Levinson changed Goffman's (1967) original concept of face from a concept of face deeply rooted in society to one that focuses solely on the wants of the self. While Goffman's face is located in the "flow of events" and is public property "on loan from society," Brown and Levinson's face is decidedly an "individualistic, 'self'-oriented image" (Mao 1994: 454-5). It is in this conceptualization of face that Mao finds fault in Brown and Levinson's model of face and draws on examples from Chinese language and facework to give substance to his claims. Like Goffman's face, Mao explains Chinese face as encoding "a reputable image that individuals can claim for themselves as they interact with others in a given community…linked to the views of the community and to the community's judgment and perception of the individual's character and behavior"(460). Mao compares this view of Chinese face to that of Japanese face and facework, positing that the motivating factor in Japanese facework is also "the need to conform to social conventions and to express their desire to be part of the community" (469). This need "to acknowledge and maintain role or status in relation to others in particular, well-defined situations is…very much related to the concept of face," and is related to the construct of facework in Chinese as a "publicly negotiated image" that "revolves around a recognition by others of one's desire for social prestige, reputation, or sanction, or it hinges upon a mandatory acknowledgment of one's role and status in relation to others in any given interaction" (469, 471).

This socially-determined, public face found in Japanese and Chinese culture, Mao (1994) argues, is separate from Brown and Levinson's face in forces of directionality:

> "The first may be regarded as a *centripetal force*, as Chinese and Japanese face gravitates toward social recognition and hierarchical interdependence. The second may be regarded as a *centrifugal force*, because Anglo-American face spirals outward from individual desires or wants, and sees the self as the initiating agent. These two divergent forces represent two different face orientations, and these two face orientations." (471)

To explain this phenomenon of directionality forces, Mao introduces a new concept that he calls *relative face orientation*. Relative face orientation is the "underlying direction of the face that emulates, though never completely attaining" and is divided into "one of two interactional ideals that may be salient in a given speech community: the ideal social identity, or the ideal individual autonomy" (472). Which direction face orients is additionally decided by the sanctions of the community. The *ideal social identity* "motivates members of the community to associate themselves with others and to cultivate a sense of homogeneity" while the *ideal individual autonomy* "marks off a separate and an almost inviolable space, within which the individual can preserve and celebrate his or her freedom of action without fear of becoming an outsider" (472). Mao also connects these two concepts to an interdependent and independent sense of identity that corresponds to that of the model put forth by Morisaki and Gudykunst in the same year.

Like Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994), Mao also stresses that both interdependent and independent as well as ideal social identity and ideal individual autonomy are at play in a given speech community. When face is "socially nurtured and sanctioned, and

derived from the specific webs of significance spun by each individual in relation to others" it is an "interactional force oriented toward the ideal social identity," but when "it indulges itself in accommodating individual desires and wants, in expressing or asserting the internal attributes of the individual," face is oriented toward the ideal individual autonomy (472-3). To this end, Mao suggests a solution to the problems concerning Brown and Levinson's notion of negative face brought up by Matsumoto (1998, 1989). That is, the ideal individual autonomy will keep the original construct of negative face as the desire to be left alone and to be free in one's actions. On the other hand, to be respected in the context of ideal social identity, is not to be left alone free of imposition, but rather, "to be *included* as a reputable member of the community" (Mao 1994: 473, emphasis in original). In this way, the two ideals composing the relative face orientation "vie for saliency in the actual composition of face—in the image that we wish to claim for ourselves in a dyadic interaction" and add further to a culturally universal model of face and facework (473).

2.5 Lexical Issues in Face

Mao (1994)'s argument for the relative face orientation's directionality to be added to models of face is based on the Chinese concept of face. While focusing on Chinese face, Mao introduces a lexical issue in Chinese face: face is lexically represented by two different words in Chinese – *liǎn* (臉) and *miànzi*(面子). Mao notes that conventionally only a concept similar to *miànzi* is discussed in definitions and studies of face, but *liǎn* is not (457). *Liǎn* does not have the same meaning as *miànzi*, as it is likened more to society's evaluation of a given person's moral reputation or character. There is

also a difference between 'to lose *miànzi*' and 'to lose *liǎn*': losing *liǎn* is more serious than losing *miànzi*, as losing *liǎn* is similar to the condemnation of the community due to some socially distasteful or immoral behavior. *Miànzi* can be lost without any damage to *liǎn*, but if *liǎn* is lost, *miànzi* cannot be maintained (458, see Hu (1944) and Ho (1975)). If *liǎn* is lost, one's behavior has been deemed socially disagreeable or immoral; however, if one lives up to "the socially endorsed code of conduct," *liǎn* is not endangered (461).

Japanese face, according to Mao, seems to echo *liǎn* as "both concepts appear to project a public image that either observes status differences and social interdependence, or internalizes social sanctions and solidifies itself in the company of others" (469). Mao also explains that *liǎn* is not negotiable on a one-to-one basis, while *miànzi* generally is (462), making *liǎn* 'interdependent' face per Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994)'s model for Japanese face. However, Mao, when discussing Japanese face, does not acknowledge a lexical issue similar to the division between *miànzi* and *liǎn* existing in Japanese. When Mao mentions "Japanese face" generally, he compares it vaguely to *liǎn* and does not mention the possibility of *miànzi* existing as part of Japanese facework.

Related to this lexical issue of face, Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) posit that there are a variety of words used to represent social face in Japanese, just as in Chinese. This fact was unmentioned by Mao (1994) when extending Chinese face to Japanese face. Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) explain Japanese face is lexically represented by the words *mentsu* (面子；Chinese: *miànzi*), *menmoku* (面目；Chinese: *miànmù*), and *kao* (顔； Chinese: *yán*, not commonly used for social face). Of these three words, Morisaki and Gudykunst identify *kao* as unique in that it carries three different usages:

"(1) to refer to the physical part of the body, (2) to refer to one's personal name or status, and (3) to refer to social face" (48, 81).

Morisaki and Gudykunst identify phrases in Japanese that use the social face reading of *kao*, most notably *kao wo tsubushita* (to lit. crush face, non-past tense: *kao wo tsubusu*) (48). Along these lines, they call for more research into the difference between *mentsu* and the social face meaning of *kao* in terms of the independent or interdependent structure of face, and speculate that *mentsu* may be used in interdependent situations. However, labeling *kao wo tsubusu* as being connected with *mentsu,* and therefore *miànzi*, rather than *liǎn*, perhaps may eclipse the differences in meanings among *kao*, *menmoku,* and *mentsu* in terms of Mao (1994)'s relative face orientation or Morisaki and Gudykunst's own models. In these terms, Morisaki and Gudykunst's (1994) label of *kao* in *kao wo tsubusu* as having the '*mentsu*' meaning may in fact be incorrect if *mentsu* and *kao* have a difference in relative face orientation, as Mao (1994) suggested when he likened Japanese face to *liǎn*. This blanket term of "Japanese face" by Mao as being like *liǎn* is also problematic as expressed above since Japanese also has many words for face. The Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) models of independent and interdependent face offer a new way to look at collectivistic cultures like Japan and China, but fall short in addressing lexical issues and the possibility that the different words for face could represent different parts of the model. Mao (1994) acknowledges the difference between the face represented by *liǎn* and *miànzi* is conceptually different, but due to his focus on Chinese language and not Japanese language, does not extend this idea into his discussion of Japanese face. The two models must be adjusted and applied with each other in mind

to truly understand the connection between lexical issues and facework models in Japanese.

Murakami (2004) briefly touches on the difference in meaning between *kao,* and what Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) refer to as a synonym of *mentsu*, "*menmoku"* (48), in her study exploring the difference between Japanese and American notions of 'face' through experimentation using *menmoku*. Murakami was focused on the concept of face and not the lexical side of Japanese face, and her questionnaires used the word *menmoku* exclusively. However, this led to an interesting outcome in a case of casually changing the word *menmoku* to *kao* in one context where it seemed the participants did not understand the full meaning of *menmoku*. Murakami changed one question from *Shinichi ga Yamamoto ni taishite, menmoku ga tsubureta to omoimasu ka?* (Do you think Shinichi's face was lost with Yamamoto?) to *Shinichi ga Yamamoto no kao wo tsubushita to omoimasu ka?* (Do you think Shinichi made Yamamoto lose face?). This was done because it "seemed that the former question might have been confusing to the Japanese informants"(Murakami 14). Compared to the thirty-seven percent that responded that the situation between Yamamoto and Shinichi complied with the sentence using *menmoku*, eighty percent of the respondents considered this situation to be loss of face when the word *kao* was used describing Yamamoto's face, not Shinichi's. Furthermore, when business people were asked using the *kao* phrase, all respondents believed that 'face' had been lost (14). Clearly, in making her lexical change to her survey, Murakami changed the nature of her question.

Murakami did not explain this discrepancy in the results between the words *menmoku* and *kao*, as it was not the goal of her research. However, it was observed and

recorded that there was a clear difference when the word *kao* was used. This opens the door to the research that will be presented here. If there is in fact a difference between uses of *menmoku* and *kao* like the Chinese dual-word system, this research hopes to begin the dialogue about lexical issues in Japanese face by answering the question of what *kao* represents in the phrase *kao wo tsubusu* when it is used to describe a loss of social face. If the owners of face in *menmoku ga tsubureru* (as used by Murakami) and *kao wo tsubusu* are indeed different, what clues to the structure of Japanese facework does it offer? The concepts affecting a cultural model of facework, such as Self and Other focus, interdependent and independent face, and relative face orientation introduced by Ting-Toomey, Morisaki and Gudykunst, and Mao offer a direction in which to explore the phrase *kao wo tsubusu.* Who is the owner of *kao* in *kao wo tsubusu:* self or other? Is it independent or interdependent face that is at stake? When face is lost, who is the actor 'smashing' that face? Can one describe a loss of their own face as *kao wo tsubusu*? If it cannot be used to describe a loss of self-face, does it have directionality in the Mao sense? The exploration of these questions through a corpus study of the use of *kao wo tsubusu* and a follow up confirmation survey study hope to begin to define *kao* in *kao wo tsubusu* within existing models of facework and society to better understand a small portion of the connection between Japanese culture, society, and facework.

2.6. Summary

Goffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) brought attention to and started to shape the concepts of face and facework. Their original model, which came from a western point of view was then challenged, in the case of Matsumoto (1988, 1989)

for Japanese and Mao (1994) for Chinese. Ting-Toomey (1988) created a model for a more culturally universal model of face, incorporating elements of society and culture into facework. This provided the basis for understanding facework as it relates to culture and society. It was from this idea that Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) began to conceptualize a Japanese model of face. This model, however, while it introduced the importance of group versus individual face, was vague in connecting lexical representations of social face to the models. Furthermore, for a truly emic perspective on Japanese face, both the elements of the model constructed by Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) and Mao's (1994) directional and *lexical* issues in facework must be addressed.

As shown above, Murakami's (2004) changing the form of the survey question from *menmoku* to *kao* fundamentally changes the nature of the question from loss of self-face to the damaging of other-face. In terms of Ting-Toomey's (1988) model, it will be argued that the use of the phrase *kao wo tsubusu* is used to express threat along the Other-Face concern axis, not Self-Face concern, as is explored in Murakami (2004) with the use of *menmoku*. Put in terms of Morisaki and Gudykunst's (1994) model, *kao* in this phrase takes on the meaning of interdependent mutual-other-face and interdependent other-group-face. As in Mao's (1994) exploration of *miànzi* and *liǎn* and in terms of relative face orientation, *kao* in *kao wo tsubusu* is perhaps more similar to *liǎn* in its orientation towards the ideal social identity and is a concept deeply rooted not in the individual but in the approval of societal and cultural norms held by the Japanese community.

In order to explore the link between a facework model rooted in Japanese society and culture and the lexical representations of these models in the Japanese language, the use of *kao* within Japanese facework situations, the loss of face, lexically represented as

kao wo tsubusu, will be the main focus of this study. The next chapter presents a pilot study of the use of *kao wo tsubusu* in the online advice boards for *the Yomiuri Shinbun*, *Hatsugen Komachi*, to examine the situations in which *kao wo tusubusu* is used to describe a loss of face.

Chapter 3: Corpus Study

3.1. Introduction

To carve out a small portion of the mechanisms of facework in Japanese, the use of the word *kao* in the set phrase *kao wo tsubusu* is selected to be the focus of this study. While cases where the physical meaning of *kao* are quite easy to spot, the use with *kao* taking on a meaning closer to 'self' is a little more delicate as the idea of face and self are intertwined in western conceptions. But the 'self' meaning of *kao* is conceptually separate from social face in the mind of Japanese. Common phrases with *kao*'s self meaning include *kao wo dasu* 'to show (your) face' (i.e. at a party or event), *kao ga hiroi* 'face is wide' (you are well known), *kao wo kasu* 'to lend (your) face' (to lend a hand in something), and *kaomuke ga dekina*i '(I) can't face (you).' The only two phrases that use *kao* in the social face sense are *kao wo tsubusu* and *kao wo tateru*, which mean to smash and to build face, respectively. This research is particularly rooted in the Face Threatening Acts that result in losses of face in Japanese; thus, analysis is limited to *kao wo tsubusu*.

3.2 Hypotheses

Three hypotheses can be drawn: (1) From the models of Ting-Toomey (1988), Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994), and Mao (1994), the predictions for the use of *kao* are

several-fold. In terms of Ting-Toomey (1994), since Japan is considered a collectivistic high-context culture, the focus of facework should tend to be oriented towards other-face in interactions. While this is a general tendency, this does not mean that self-face does not exist. Simply, the *kao* used in *kao wo tsubusu* is predicted from its use in opposition to *menmoku* in Murakami (2004) to be a representation of 'other-face' and not 'self-face.' This representation of *kao* as other-face in society and culture should be reflected grammatically in the usage of the phrase *kao wo tsubusu*. (2) In addition, *kao*, since it is used within the interdependent social context of Japanese communication, should also be interdependent in nature as defined by Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994). That is, it should only be used in situations involving three or more interactants. Face, as far as *kao* signifies, should not be found in situations between individuals only. (3) Finally, like the Chinese *lian* outlined by Mao (1994), *kao* should have a relative face orientation directed towards the ideal social identity, representing an impersonal approval of a role in society rather than individual value. *Kao*, rather than Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) personal self-image, should align closer to Goffman's (1976) concept of face as located in the flow of events and closely linked with the structural hierarchy of the community in question.

3.3. Methods

To find instances of the use of *kao wo tsubusu* as well as a detailed outline of the situation at stake when the phrase is used, internet posts on the Japanese newspaper *The Yomiuri Shinbun* website's *Hatsugen Komachi* advice page (http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/) are the sources for data collection.

A search of *Hatsugen Komachi* using the keywords *kao wo tsubusu* (顔を潰す) yields 93 results for articles or commented responses to articles with at least one usage of the phrase. Of these results, different forms of the phrase such as past tense, or the intransitive construction might also be contained in other comments. However, these cases were rare as the search was simply for *kao wo tsubusu*. Each article analyzed has at least one instance of *kao wo tsubusu* in either the body of the post or the reply comments. Of the 93 articles found in the search, the first 50 posts were used for the purpose of this study.

The general structure of a post on *Hatsugen Komachi* begins with the author of the post explaining the situation and asking the advice of the other *Hatsugen Komachi* users. Once the problem is explained, the other users post their thoughts about the situation and what they believe the poster of the topic should do. In some of the cases studied, the worry of the poster is specifically about the social face of another. In other posts, the topic of face is brought up by the commentators replying to the original post. In each case, the situation, the involved social actors and their roles, and the specific action that would result in the loss of face (*kao*) were examined for patterns in usage.

3.3.1 Social Actors

In instances of *kao wo tsubusu*, there is often a possession word describing to whom the *kao* being lost belongs, and if there is not, it is clear in the context at stake whose loss of face is being described. There is also an actor that does the 'smashing' in *kao wo tsubusu,* that is, the person or persons who cause the owner or owners of *kao* to lose it. The words used to describe these roles are usually pronouns or titles such as

'boss' or 'husband' or 'wife.' They may also be groups such as entire families or companies. These words also carry a meaning of social hierarchy within Japanese society. These words are crucial in identifying the social positions of each of the players in the facework negotiation. These words also help to define the domain and situation of each circumstance presented in the advice board post and comments.

3.3.2 Face Threatening Acts

Along with the domain, situation, and the social roles of the person or groups who lose face and who or what causes them to lose it, what the actual face threatening act involved in the advice board post is also analyzed. This is divided into two parts: transaction between players and face 'smashing' act. The transaction labels the nature of the social relation between the participants. For example, in the work domain, a recommendation situation might be the introduction of a client by a boss to a subordinate. For the family domain, an obligation situation could be the sending of a wedding gift. The face 'smashing' act, however, is what actually happened or is theoretically entertained to happen that would result in the loss of the face of one of the parties. In the above work domain-recommendation situation, this act could be the subordinate failing to make a sale with the client introduced to him or her by his or her boss. For the family domain-obligation situation, it could be sending an overly small or overly large sum of money. For each advice board post, whenever *kao wo tsubusu* is used, the circumstances of the transaction as well as the action that would (or did) result in a loss of face is also recorded.

3.3.3 Situation and Domain

In order to understand the circumstances under which face is lost in Japanese culture, the concept of domain and situation is used to classify circumstances in which face is lost. To first understand the meaning of the phrase *kao wo tsubusu,* exploring the circumstances under which it is used is the first step. Domain is the division between those interactions in the workplace and those involving family and friend situations. This division is not the same as a 'private' and 'public' division, as many of the family situations involve the families' roles in the community or between families for celebrations such as births, weddings, funerals, and festivals as well.

Within the work and family domains, situations are divided into two types: obligation and recommendation. Obligation refers to the day-to-day social role obligations in Japanese society. These obligations are tied to titles, such as 'boss' and 'superior,' but also to roles in the family such as 'husband,' 'wife,' 'parent,' 'in-law,' or 'child.' Work and family related social roles included expectations for family rituals such as weddings, *otoshidama* (the giving of money on New Year's to children), *shussaniwai* (money sent to a family with a new birth)*,* funerals, and village festivals. Work related obligations included those connected to the social roles of *senpai-kouhai* relationships (important relationships between superiors/seniors and subordinates/juniors in Japan) and boss-employee relationships. Each of these roles is tied to a set of expectations of obligations. As pointed out by Matsumoto (1988: 419): "a Japanese speaker must always convey an attitude towards the social relationship" and then stepping out of the roles that come with these social relationships result in a loss of face of the people that are depending on you in the hierarchy. These obligation situations in the Morisaki and

Gudykunst (1994) model may concern both interdependent face of family groups in situations with three or more people or the independent faces of individuals in situations between two people (58). On the other hand, recommendation situations only concern interdependent face, as there must be three participants in the situation.

Recommendation is a similar but specially mentioned situation that involves three people, and is thus only interdependent. The recommendations can be for anything from a job in the work domain to a partner for marriage in the family domain. Person A may recommend person B to a third person, C. In meeting C, B is wearing the 'recommendation' social face of A. If B fails in the expectations of A, the face of A that B is wearing in the interaction is lost. This situation is particularly relevant in the discussion of the concept of relative face orientation brought up by Mao (1994). The interdependent face in these situations is not the identity face of these groups but rather the face that belongs to the relationship between the participants in the transaction, oriented towards the ideal social identity.

For each *Hatsugen Komachi* advice post, the circumstances (domain, situation, transaction), the social and relational roles of the actors, and the act that resulted in the loss of face is recorded to answer the question: what is at stake and whose face (*kao*) is lost by the action of whom?

3.4 Results

The collected data can be found in Appendix 1 with the links to the original posts on *Hatsugen Komachi* listed in Appendix 2. In all cases, the smashing of face was related to the failure to carry out the cultural performance expected of certain social roles. All

players in the circumstances where face was lost were all carrying out certain social roles as dictated by society. The one who failed to carry out these roles in society then caused the person who held expectations of their competition to lose face. In order to classify these social roles and their expectations within society, they were broadly divided by domain (family or work) and situation (obligation and recommendation) into four categories. Within the 50 advice posts, 54 situations emerged. The extra situations discussed appeared in the reply comments as the authors' suggested ideal situations or their own experiences in connection with the post author's experiences. Of the 54 situations, 30 (56%) fell into the category of social obligations as defined by family or the workplace. Under the category of domain, 38 (70%) fell under general family-related domain and 16 (30%) fell under the domain of the workplace. Of the 30 obligations category, 21 (70%) were family and 9 (30%) were workplace situations. A total of 24 (44%) situations fell into the general category of recommendations. Out of the 24 recommendations category, 17 (71%) were *omiai* and 7 (29%) were work recommendations. See Table 3.1 and Figure 3.1 for a summary of the data, where the counts and percentages of the 54 circumstances for *kao wo tsubusu* in *Hatsugen Komachi* were divided by domain (family versus work) and situation (obligations versus recommendations).

		Situation		Total
		Obligations	Recommendations	
Domain	Family	21 (39%)	17 (31%)	38 (70%)
	Work	9 (17%)	7 (13%)	16 (30%)
Total		30 (56%)	24 (44%)	54 (100%)

Table 3.1. Situations and domains for the 54 circumstances for *kao wo tsubusu*

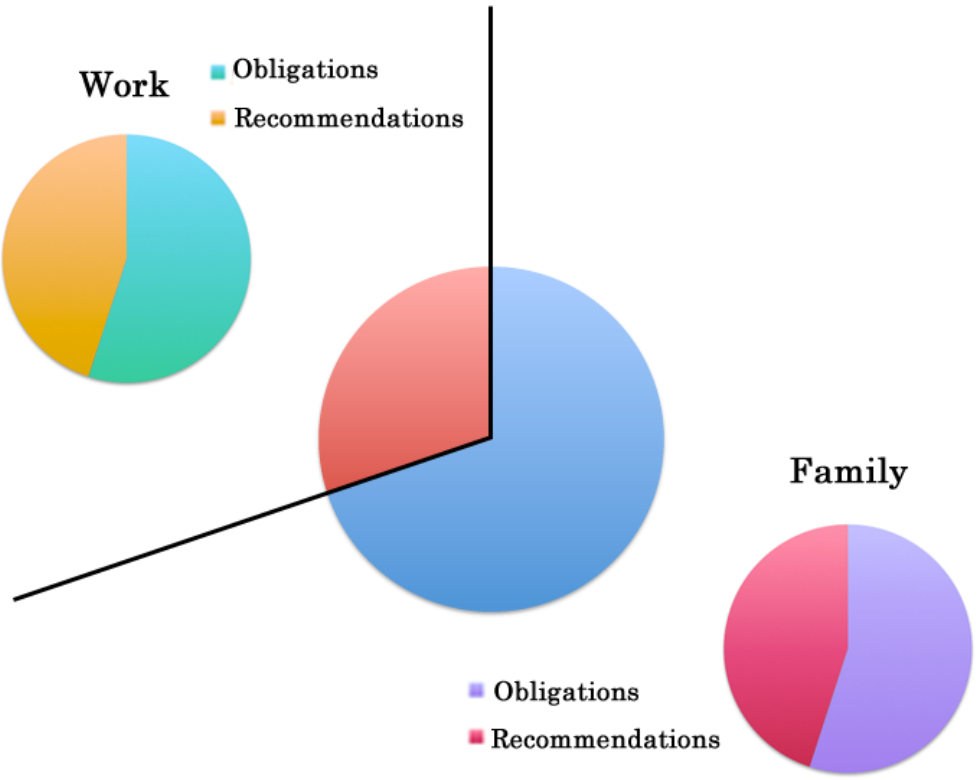

Figure 3.1. Results for the 54 circumstances for *kao wo tsubusu* in *Hatsugen Komachi* listed in in Table 3.1 represented by pie diagram divided by domain and then by situation.

The center circle or pie diagram in Figure 3.1 illustrates the 54 circumstances divided by domain into work and family. Family is represented by the blue portion (70%)

of the circle while the red portion (30%) depicts work situations. The smaller red and purple circle represents the 38 circumstances in the family domain, where red depicts recommendation situations (45%) and purple obligation situations (55%). The circle on the upper left hand corner describes the 16 work domain circumstances divided by recommendation in orange (44%) and obligation in green (56%).

3.5 Discussion

Expected social roles within Japanese culture defined all the instances of face smashing found in the data. The instances where face was smashed were divided in the results into two broad categories with all cases of face loss stemming from failing to fulfill social role expectations. However, the number of situations with a "recommender" in the case of *omiai* (arranged marriages) and work recommendations were numerous, and thus considered separately from other social roles in family and the workplace. The cases with a recommender formed the beginning of a pattern with which to understand the use of *kao* when describing facework situations.

3.5.1. Recommender Circumstances

Out of the 54 circumstances that emerged from the *Hatsugen Komachi* data, 24 (44%) involved a *shoukaisha* (紹介者), literally someone who introduces something to someone. Here, the *shoukaisha* will be called the 'recommender.' Of these 24 cases, the recommender appeared in three circumstances: *omiai*, the practice of setting up dates with perspective marriage partners, recommendations for work, and recommendation of clients in the workplace. *Omiai* is a step in the traditional Japanese practice of arranged

marriage. A man and a woman are recommended to each other either by a professional matchmaker, family, friends, or a superior at work. There is a minimum of three people involved in the *omiai* process: the man, the woman, and the recommender. The larger groups belonging to each person may also be involved, such as the family of the man or the woman. The recommendation of work is a similar process where a possible job is recommended to someone through a brokered agreement with the place of employment. There are also three participants in this process: the recommender who may or may not work for the business in question, the recommended worker, and the superiors at this place of employment. In one of the 24 cases, the circumstances of recommending a client were also offered as an example situation in the replies to an advice question, and this situation also followed the same general dynamic.

The role of the *shoukaisha* is a tricky one. In recommending someone for either a job or a possible partner in a marriage, your face is on the line. In the articles, it is mentioned several times that when a recommender is present, it is their face you are wearing under those circumstances. In the case of article #24 (See Appendix 1 and 2), a commenter says:

> “もっと考えやすいのは、コネを使ったり、先輩の顔を使って内定をもらったのを辞退して、コネ先や先輩から復讐されたとか…紹介が入る場合、紹介者の「顔」を使うわけですから、辞退したら「顔を潰す」事になりますから。熱湯は極端ですが、この場合なら詰問されて「人間のくず」扱いされることは大いにあり得ます。”
>
> “*The easiest way to think about it is this: when you use things like connections, if you turn down the offer given to you using your senpai’s face, then maybe revenge will be taken on you by your senpai and their connection…Because, when you refuse something introduced to you by recommendation, you are using their “face” and then it ends up being a situation where “their face is lost” (*kao wo tsubusu*). To call the situation boiling water might be a bit extreme, but if that’s*

the case and they demand an explanation, there is a big possibility you will be treated like trash."

In recommendation situations, you are representing the recommender and any actions you perform outside of the expectations of your social role as the person being recommended will smash this borrowed face. You are using the face of the recommender in your expected social role. In the case of the *omiai*, when meeting a potential partner, both prospective partners are wearing the face of the person who recommended them to each other. If they somehow do not live up to expectations, for example, do not get along or do not have the same goals or ideas about marriage and decide not to go any further with the relationship because of these differences, it is the face of the recommender that is smashed. The work situation is the same. If someone recommends a person for a job but this person is unqualified, lazy, or simply cannot do the work and quits soon after being hired, it reflects badly on the person who did the recommendation. In taking the job, this person puts on the face of the recommender and this face will be smashed if the correct social roles are not fulfilled. This idea of face being transferred in the cases of the recommenders can also be extended to the cases of social roles within families and the workplace.

3.5.2. Obligation Circumstances

The transfer of face from one party to another also occurred in other social role expectations outside of those containing a recommender. Of the 30 circumstances (56% of the total situations) that did not have a *shoukaisha*, 21 (39% of the 30) fell under the category of social expectations within family situations. The social hierarchy and expectations from the culturally defined roles are clear in the circumstances outlined in

the advice articles. The conversation concerning *kao* also came up in situations between more than two people, often in intergroup contexts concerning family roles in relation to society. These circumstances were almost always concerned with family ceremonies and the social expectations connected to them. Examples include weddings, wedding receptions and gift money, funeral ceremonies, amount of money to give for *otoshidama* (New Year's gift), *shussaniwai* (baby shower gift), and festivals, the payment of family expenses, and other social expectations in the relations among family members and their community. In many cases, the wife is told by the husband to carry out a certain action within a social role, i.e. send a certain amount of money, or let certain people into their home. If she steps outside of these boundaries set by the husband and wife relationship, she smashes the face, *kao*, of her husband. In some cases, her actions outside of her social role also smash her husband and his family's group social face. When her husband asks her to do something in the name of the family, such as a wedding gift, *otoshidama*, or a festival contribution, she is wearing his face as he is the head of the household. When she does something outside his wishes, she smashes his face that she is wearing.

The same is true for social role obligations in the workplace in Japan. The workplace is also a very hierarchical system; the proper relationship between superiors and subordinates or bosses and employees is the subject of the remaining nine circumstances (17%). Article #18 (See Appendix 1 and 2) is a clear example of the boundaries of social expectations in the workplace. In this case, having a subordinate or *kouhai*, who breaks social convention and openly corrects superiors or *senpai*, smashes the faces of the superiors. In being the subordinate, a person is the reflection of the superiors and bosses and wears that superior's social face when they are representing

them through their actions; when breaking social convention, it is the superiors' and bosses' faces that are lost.

This pattern aligns with Mao (1994)'s discussion of *liǎn* (臉) as the social face that aligns with society's evaluation of a given person's moral reputation or character. Losing *liǎn* is more serious than losing *miànzi* (面子), as it is akin to the condemnation of the community due to some socially distasteful or immoral behavior (457-8). Mao also conceptualizes *liǎn* as something that remains intact only if one lives up to "the socially endorsed code of conduct" (461). In this way, *kao* resembles the Chinese face *liǎn* as a social face that exists within society and situations involving social expectations, oriented towards the ideal social identity.

The transfer of face and the mechanism of face smashing in terms of the boundaries of social role expectations are outlined in Figure 3.2. G stands for the Giver of Face, who may be the recommender or the social face of whomever the receiver borrows in the given circumstances. R is the Receiver of Face who wears the "relational" ideal social identity-oriented face of the Giver. When stepping outside the boundaries of social role expectations, R's failure to fulfill the social role given to them by G results in G losing face, *kao*.

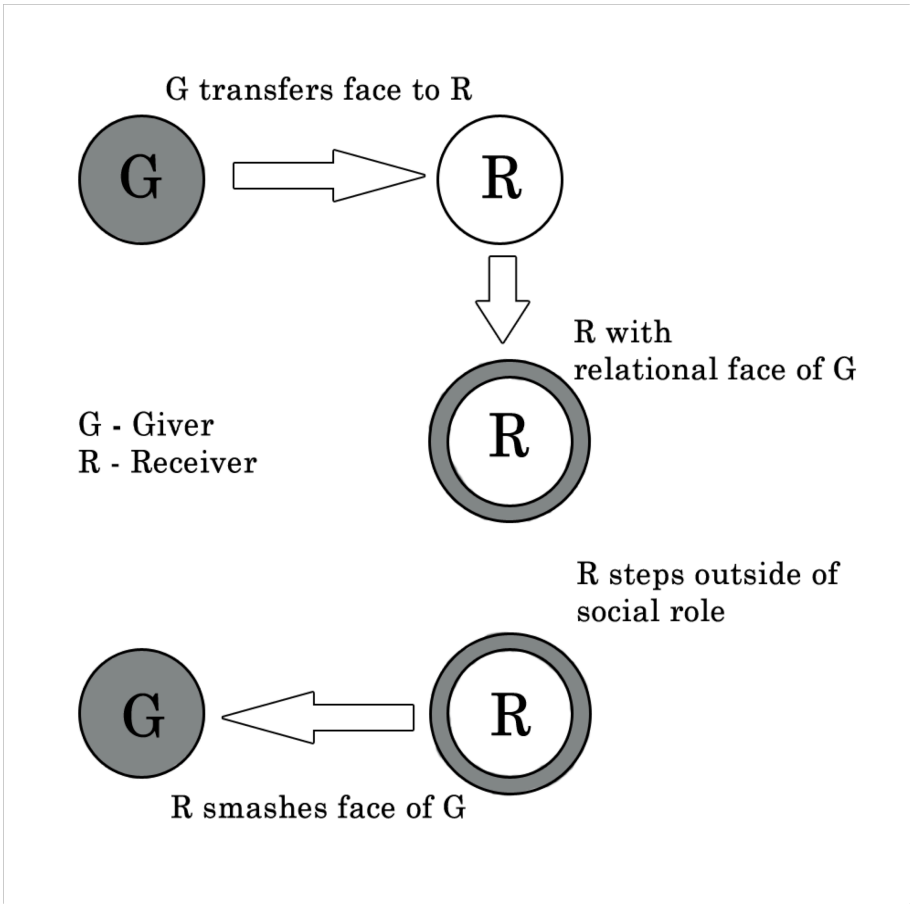

Figure 3.2. Model of facework in *kao wo tsubusu* circumstances in the *Hatsugen Komachi* data.

In the figure above, R's failure to fulfill the social role given to them by G results in G losing face, *kao*.

3.6 Summary

From the models of Ting-Toomey (1988), Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994), and Mao (1994), there were several the predictions for the use of *kao* in the *Hatsugen Komachi* corpus and in the greater frame of facework in Japanese society. Ting-Toomey (1994) considers Japan a collectivistic high-context culture, thus it follows from her model that the focus of facework should have the tendency to be oriented towards other-

face in interactions. As predicted, the *kao* used in *kao wo tsubusu* always referred to 'other-face' and not 'self-face' in any of the examples on *Hatsugen Komachi*, no matter the situation nor domain in which the interaction took place. In addition, *kao*, since it is used within the interdependent social context of Japanese communication, was also found to be interdependent in nature as defined by Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994), as it could only be used in situations involving three or more people. *Kao* was not found to represent face in situations between individuals only.

Finally, like the Chinese *liăn* outlined by Mao (1994), *kao* has a relative face orientation directed towards the ideal social identity, representing an impersonal approval of a role in society rather than individual value. *Kao*, rather than Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) personal self-image, did indeed align more closely to Goffman's (1976) concept of face as located in the flow of events and closely linked with the structural hierarchy of the community.

However, these conclusions are only drawn from the corpus available in *Hatsugen Komachi*. To make sure this is not an event limited to the medium of internet advice boards, Chapter 4 attempts to confirm these results about the use of *kao wo tsubusu* using a survey to test native speakers of Japanese. Specifically, it tests factors that might influence the use of the phrase *kao wo tsubusu* such as self and other face, grammatical person, and region to explore both linguistic and cultural factors in facework.

Chapter 4: Survey Study

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of the study in this chapter is to confirm the findings of the corpus study in Chapter 3 of *kao wo tsubusu* that examined the situations in which losses of face occur. It was found that *kao wo tsubusu* was used only in cases where the 'other' in any given interaction lost face. It was never used to describe the loss of one's own face. The goal here is to confirm the place of *kao wo tsubusu* in existing facework models as representing the relative, ideal social identity, interdependent, other-positive, and negative face.

In the corpus study in the previous chapter exploring the use of *kao wo tsubusu* in the advice boards called *Hatsugen Komach*i on the website for the Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri Shinbun*, *kao* was compared to facework models put forth by Ting-Toomey (1988) and Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994). From the *Komachi* data, *kao wo tsubusu* was found to only be used to describe the face concerns of the 'other' in an interaction and never one's self. In terms of Ting-Toomey's (1988) model, the use of the phrase *kao wo tsubusu* was used to express threat along the Other-Face concern axis, not Self-Face concern. In Morisaki and Gudykunst's (1994) model, *kao* took on the meaning of interdependent mutual-other-face and interdependent other-group-face. In Mao's (1994) model, *kao* was like the Chinese *lian* in that it represented a face oriented towards the ideal social identity. In order to confirm the findings of the pilot corpus study presented

in Chapter 3, this study will test the acceptability of the phrase *kao wo tsubusu* by native speakers of Japanese via a survey. Confirmation of *kao* as always denoting the face of the 'other' would confirm Ting-Toomey and Morisaki and Gudykunst's facework models and their prediction of the existence of other-face orientation for the high-context collectivistic culture.

4.2 Research Questions and Predictions

This study will answer three questions with the use of a survey: (1) Can *kao wo tsubusu* be used to describe the loss of one's own face by one's own actions? Has the facework element of this phrase been grammaticalized? (2) Does grammatical person change the acceptability of usages of *kao wo tsubusu*? and (3) Does the acceptability of this phrase used to describe one's own face differ among different populations from different regions of Japan?

It is expected that if the formulations about the use of *kao wo tsubusu* in the pilot corpus study were correct in that *kao* is a representation of other-face, then *kao wo tsubusu* will not be acceptable to most speakers when used to describe the loss of one's own face by one's own actions. *Kao* will always carry the meaning of the 'other' in face interactions and this meaning has been incorporated into the grammaticality of the phrase. In addition, using *kao wo tsubusu* to describe the loss of face of a third person by their own actions may be slightly more acceptable than speaking of a loss of face by one's own actions in first person.

4.3 Methods

4.3.1 Survey

Three situations from the *Hatsugen Komachi* advice boards were selected as test situations for the survey questions. The situations were written in third or first person, and owner of the face lost varied between the 'self' and the 'other' (4 situation types x 3 each = 12 test questions). The participants were asked to choose the acceptability of the use of *kao wo tsubusu* to describe the given situations on an acceptability scale from 1 to 7, where 1 is impossible and 7 is possible. An eighth option presented is "I don't understand" if the meaning was unclear to the participants. These twelve test questions appeared with eighteen additional filler questions with different Japanese idioms. A practice section of the survey questions was also placed in the beginning of the survey in order to familiarize learners with the experiment procedures. The question format was identical to the main survey (see Appendix 3). For the main survey, participants were asked to read through the 30 situations and sentences and mark the acceptability of the sentence being used to describe the situation. Each survey was given to a native speaker of Japanese after explaining the experimental process and obtaining their consent, each person participating on a volunteer basis.

4.3.2 Test Sentences

The survey offered questions in response to the three situations where *kao wo tsubusu* appeared in four constructions: A-A, A-B, I-A, and I-I, where A and B were 'others' and I was 'self' (the participant in first person = the speaker). The order of letters denoted the direction of the 'smashing' with the first letter in the pair being the actor to

cause the second one to lose face. In A-A, A was a third person and smashes his/her own face by his/her own action(s). In A-B, A was a third person who smashed the face of another third person. In I-A, the situation was moved to the first person (=the speaker) smashing the face of a third person. The last situation, I-I, was a first person example of smashing one's own face by one's own actions. Where the face being lost belonged to the 'other' in a situation, as in A-B and I-A, the use of *kao wo tsubusu* should have been acceptable. When the person describing the situation was also the one that has lost face, as in A-A and I-I, it was expected that it would have been unacceptable to use *kao wo tsubusu* to describe the situation. Question format is summarized in Table 4.1.

	Grammatical Person	Smasher of face	Test sentence
AB	Third Person	Other	A smashed B's face
AA	Third Person	Self	A smashed their own face.
IA	First Person	Other	I smashed A's face.
II	First Person	Self	I smashed my own face.

Table 4.1. Summary of the format of the test questions used in the survey.

4.3.2 Test Situations

Three situations from the *Hatsugen Komachi* advice boards were selected as situations for set-ups A-A, A-B, I-A, and I-I (4 situation types x 3 each = 12 test questions). The three situations were composed of two family domain-obligation situations and a work domain-recommendation situation.

The first family domain-obligation situation concerned a wedding ceremony or reception, depending on whether it was version AA, AB, IA, or II. The parents of the bride and groom told the couple to hold the festivities closer to home and told the other relatives that this is what will happen. However, the couple decided to hold the ceremony and/or reception in the city where they live without consulting their relatives, failing to live up to the social expectations set by their parents, in other words, failing to fulfill their role as respectful 'children' to their 'parents' and 'family.'

The second family domain-obligation situation involved a husband, a wife, and the parents of the wife. After living in an apartment for a number of years, the wife decided to buy a house. Without consulting her husband first, she asked her parents for money for the down payment on the house. Unfortunately, her husband and his parents ended up finding out about her going behind their backs. In this way, she did not fulfill her role as 'wife' to her 'husband' by making him look like he and his family could not afford a down payment for a house. The details of the story such as length of marriage and in what kind of apartment the couple lived previously differed slightly among the AB, AA, IA, and II situations.

The final situation was a work domain-recommendation situation. A *senpai* recommended a job for a first person or a third person, depending on the AB, AA, IA, and II situation, who was in the same department at university. However, after a short length of time, for various reasons, the first person or the third person, decided to quit. By failing to do the job for which these persons were introduced, a social expectation was not met, and since these persons were wearing the face of the *senpai* who recommended them, the *senpai* lost face (*kao*).

Each situation was written slightly differently for each AB, AA, IA, and II situation, and the result was twelve test situations: 1AB, 1AA, 1IA, 1II, 2AB, 2AA, 2IA, 2II, 3AB, 3AA, 3IA, and 3II. The three situations are outlined in Table 4.2.

	Domain	Situation	Circumstances	Actors
Situation 1	Family	Obligation	Wedding planning	groom, bride, parents
Situation 2	Family	Obligation	Buying a house	husband, wife, parents
Situation 3	Work	Recommendation	Work Introduction	senpai, kouhai, company

Table 4.2. Summary of the three situations from *Hatsugen Komachi* used for the test sentences in the survey found in Appendix 3.

4.3.4 Participants

Participants in the survey were limited to only native speakers of Japanese over the age of 20 (i.e., adults). Participants included university students from three regions: the University of Shizuoka making up the Chubu group, International Christian University in Tokyo making up the Kanto group, and Kobe Shoin Women's University making up the Kansai group. Occasionally, respondents in one group would actually be from another region, and would thus be categorized by their identified dialect rather than where they were residing at the time when the survey experiment was conducted. In addition, adult friends out of college, host family (when the experimenter was participating in a study abroad program), and the relatives of the host family of the experimenter also filled out the survey in order to get a greater range of ages for the participants. All were uncompensated volunteers. A total of 96 participants filled out the

survey. Of those 96 participants, 79 were from the Chubu, Kansai, or Kanto regions and were used for statistical analysis.

4.3.5 Statistical Analysis

Answers to the twelve test questions were compared using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). The fixed factors of grammatical person (first or third), face (other vs. self), and region (Chubu, Kansai, Kanto) were tested using ANOVA to ascertain if a statistically significant difference between these factors existed and thus influenced the acceptability of the twelve *kao wo tsubusu* test sentences.

4.4 Results

Out of 96 respondents, 17 speakers from Kyushu, Hokkaido, Shikoku, and Yamaguchi were excluded. The central (Chubu) speakers group, consisting of Aichi, Mie, and Shizuoka prefectures, came to 23 participants and 247 tokens. Kansai participants numbered 34 and tokens 389, while the number of Kanto participants numbered 22 and tokens 249. Questions that were answered with "I don't understand" were also excluded from the analysis. Table 4.3 and Figures 4.1 summarize the collected data from the survey. All the collected data can be found in Appendix 4.

The total number for AB-type tokens was 219 and 221 for AA-type. IA-type tokens numbered 221 and II-type 224. A total of 445 tokens where *kao wo tsubusu* was used to represent 'self-face' were collected and 440 tokens of 'other-face.' In sum, 885 tokens were collected via the survey. There were no regional differences ($F(2,873)= 0.838$, $p< 0.433$). Posters on *Hatsugen Komachi* rarely noted their region, thus it was

unclear as to whether there were regional differences in the usage of *kao*. However, these data confirm that *kao wo tsubusu* cannot be used differently among the Chubu, Kansai, and Kanto regions of Japan. Thus, the following results are discussed with all regions grouped together (results divided by population can be found in Appendix 5).

When Chubu, Kansai, and Kanto groups were combined, II and IA sentences were rated an average of 1.7 and 5.2. AA and AB sentences were rated 2.0 and 5.2. In total, self-face was rated 1.9 and other-face 5.1 out of 885 tokens (See Table 4.3 and Figure 4.1).

ALL						
	FIRST PERSON		THIRD PERSON		TOTAL	
	SELF	OTHER	SELF	OTHER	SELF	OTHER
MEAN	1.7	5.2	2.0	5.1	1.9	5.1
DEV. M	1.5	2.1	1.7	2.1	1.6	2.1
N	224	221	221	219	445	440
TOTAL TOKENS						885

Table 4.3. Summary of Chubu, Kansai, and Kanto groups combined. First person-Self=II, Other=IA. Third person Self=AA, Other=AB. All Self=IA and AA. All Other=IA and AB.

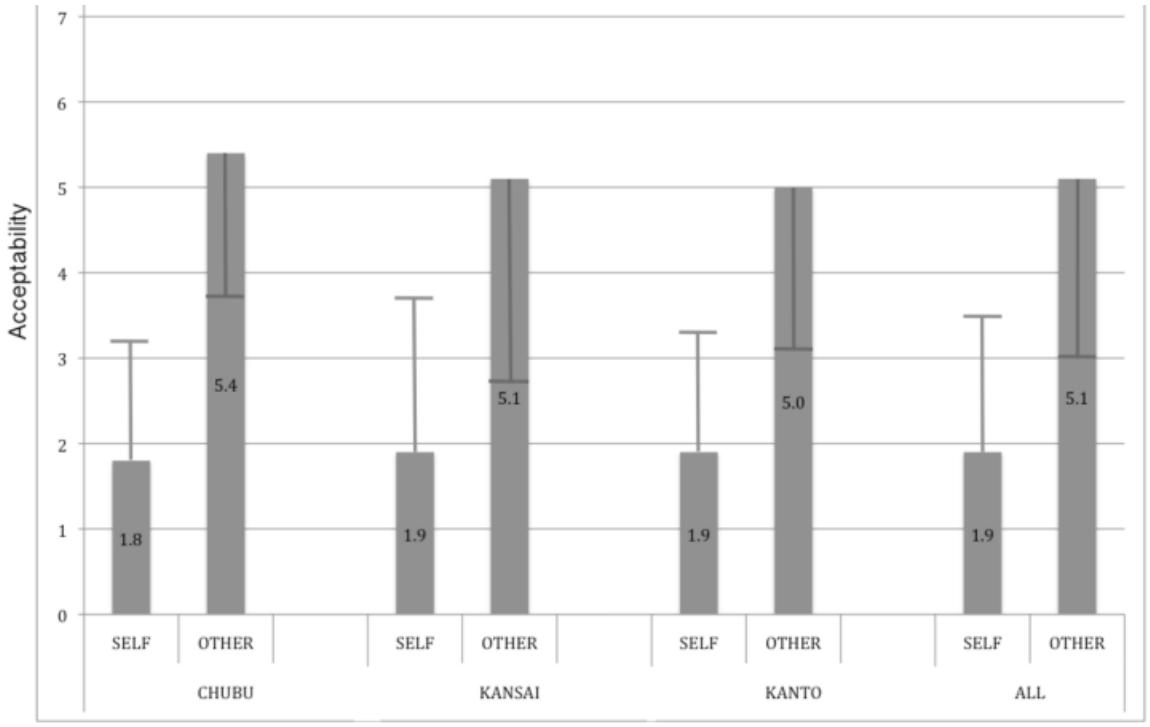

Figure 4.1. Comparison of Chubu, Kansai, Kanto group averages and combined group averages with deviation from the mean. Self=IA and AA. Other=IA and AB.

Grammatical person and region did not turn out to be statistically significant in predicting the acceptability of the *kao wo tsubusu* test sentences, nor did any of the combinations of interactions between the three factors of region, grammatical person, and owner of face (self or other). The largest factor in deciding the acceptability of the sentences was exclusively whether the face being described belonged to the self or another ($F(1, 873)=663.551$, $p < 0.000$) as in Table 4.4 (Alpha = 0.05).

Factors	df	Mean Square	F	p
Intercept	1	10352.924	2998.041	0
REGION	2	2.893	0.838	0.433
PERSON	1	1.69	0.489	0.484
FACE	**1**	**2291.394**	**663.551**	**0**
PERSON * FACE	1	4.885	1.415	0.235
REGION * FACE	2	3.576	1.036	0.355
REGION * PERSON	2	2.347	0.68	0.507
REGION * PERSON * FACE	2	4.176	1.209	0.299
Error	873	3.453		

Table 4.4. Summary of degrees of freedom, Mean Square, and F and p-values for the survey data. Group = Chubu, Kansai, or Kanto. Person = First or Third. Face = Self or Other.

4.5 Discussion

4.5.1 Person

Though the actors and the recipients of the face threatening acts were identified, grammatical person per se was not explored in the pilot study of *kao wo tsubusu* in *Hatsugen Komachi*. As long as the face of the person losing face was not the 'self' but an 'other' in terms of third person, was the use of *kao wo tsubusu* acceptable? With the smallest F value (0.489), whether the sentence was used in first or third person did not affect the acceptability of *kao wo tusbusu*. *Kao*, as a public image on loan from society given by society, cannot be lost by the actions of the self, but only be revoked by the community itself. *Kao* is an interdependent face that is oriented 'outwards' towards

Mao's (1994) ideal social identity and cannot be 'smashed' by the individual or group 'wearing' *kao*.

4.5.2 Face

The factor that overwhelmingly influenced the acceptability of the *kao wo tsubusu* test sentences in the survey was whether the face being lost was self-face or other-face. Even in the third person circumstances where the loss of face was an 'other,' that 'other' could not 'smash' his or her own face. The difference between AB and IA-type test sentences and AA and II-type sentences was large with an F value of 663.551 and a p value less than 0.000 (Table 4.4). The difference between the two groups of data was undeniably different above and beyond random variance. How can this difference be conceptualized in facework models, especially in the case of the unacceptability of the AA sentences, where it is a third person smashing their own face?

Mao's (1994) concept of relative face orientation aids in explaining *kao wo tsubusu* and the face the phrase describes. *Kao* in this phrase is a face that is oriented outwards towards the ideal social identity which "motivates members of the community to associate themselves with others and to cultivate a sense of homogeneity" as it is heavily dependent on fulfillment of roles in society (472). It is also similar to the Chinese face concept of *liăn* in that if individuals and groups live up to their social roles, that is, the socially endorsed code of conduct, *liăn* is maintained. *Kao*, like *liăn,* is also impersonal. It is not the face of the individual that is threatened or lost, but the face of the role they are playing. In this, *kao* and *liăn* can be similarly conceptualized as face with a relative face orientation directed "outward" towards the ideal social identity. As this

‘mask’ (face) on loan from society that represents a social role is facing ‘outward’ towards bonds with society, it cannot be broken by the individual or group ‘wearing’ it. In contrast, face directed towards the ideal individual autonomy is facing ‘inwards’ towards the individual identity. This is the only kind of face that can be ‘reached’ and smashed by the individuals themselves.

4.5.3 Summary

The survey of the acceptability of the use of *kao wo tsubusu* in self-face and other-face constructions verified the conclusions reached in the previous *Hatsugen Komachi* corpus study. *Kao* represents interdependent other-face oriented towards the ideal social identity. *Kao wo tsubusu* cannot be used to describe self-face, nor the compromise of social face by one’s own actions. Expanding from the concept of face with directionality proposed by Mao (1994), the introduction of a concept of two opposite-facing social faces is required: absolute and relative face. Absolute face is the independent self-face of the individual directed inward towards the ideal individual autonomy, perhaps exemplified in the Chinese *miànzi. Kao*, however, is closer to the Chinese face referred to as *liǎn*: a face based in the eyes of the community and the social roles of individuals and groups within it. This relative face is directed outwards towards the ‘other’ or society and is on loan from it. Since it is facing outwards away from the individual, it cannot be compromised by the actions of the person who owns it. It may only be ‘smashed’ by an other. The results of the survey concluded that one cannot use *kao wo tsubusu* to describe a loss of their own face by their own hand, and this usage is

consistent in the Chubu, Kansai, and Kanto regions of Japan, which may imply that the usage is used similarly across all regions of Japan.

Chapter 5 will look at this conclusion for *kao* and attempt to place it in the facework models of Ting-Toomey (1988), Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994), and Mao (1994).

Chapter 5: Model Analysis and Summary

5.1 Introduction

How does the conception of *kao* in *kao wo tsubusu* fit into facework models based on Goffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) and the ones proposed by Ting-Toomey (1988), Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994), and Mao (1994), which take culture and social roles into account as suggested by Matsumoto (1988, 1989, 2003) and Pizziconi (2003)? To fit *kao* into models of facework and identity, it is important to note that *kao* and *kao wo tsubusu* are never used when speaking about self-face, but always other-face. *Kao* is always referring to the "other."

5.2 Ting-Toomey's (1988) Model

Ting-Toomey's (1988) model of facework strategies is based on two axes: self and other, and positive and negative face (see Figure 2.1). She also introduces two concepts to add to this model that together account for culture of the community being examined: individualistic and collectivistic and high- and low-context structures of culture and society. Ting-Toomey lists Japanese culture as an example of collectivistic identity and high context (224-5). Ting-Toomey predicts that collectivistic high-context cultures will focus more on group identity in facework and will favor Other Positive-Face

(OPF) and Other Negative-Face (ONF) strategies rather than Self Positive-Face (SPF) and Self Negative-Face (SNF) strategies.

This can be seen in the use of *kao* in *kao wo tsubusu*, which is always associated with the face of the "other" either individual or group identity. In the *Hatsugen Komachi* data, *kao* can be understood as a label for OPF and ONF in the expectations connected to social roles, not SPF or SNF. This confirms the importance of attention towards other-face in the collectivistic high-context culture of Japan that Ting-Toomey proposes.

5.3 Morisaki and Gudykunst's (1994) Model

Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) build their model on the importance of individual and group identity in their interdependent versus independent dichotomy. In interdependent interaction between groups, they locate face at the intersections of identities (see Figure 2.2). *Kao* in *kao wo tsubusu* can be understood in this model as interdependent mutual-other-face and interdependent other-group-face. The social context of *kao* does not seem to be applied to one self in social situations, but always to someone else.

Morisaki and Gudykunst define interdependent face as only being in play when three or more individuals are involved in a given interaction. In all the situations in the *Hatsugen Komachi* corpus, no situation in which *kao wo tsubusu* is used is one involving only two people. In both recommendation and obligation situations, even if the giver of face, so to speak, is the community or society itself, it is still a relationship among more than three people on a group level.

5.4 Mao Model

Face is lexically represented by two different words in Chinese – *liăn* and *miànzi*. *Miànzi* carries the meaning of personal prestige or reputation that is either achieved through getting on in life or assigned by members of the community. *Liăn* is likened more to society's evaluation of a given person moral reputation or character. There is also a difference between 'to lose *miànzi*' and 'to lose *liăn*': losing *liăn* is more serious than losing *miànzi*, as it is similar to the condemnation of the community due to some socially distasteful or immoral behavior. If *liăn* is lost, one's behavior has been deemed socially disagreeable or immoral; however, if one lives up to "the socially endorsed code of conduct," *liăn* is not endangered (Mao 1994: 461). *Liăn* embodies the endorsement of society rather than approval from any one individual. No personal intimacy is attached to *liăn*. Japanese face, according to Mao, seems to echo *liăn* as "both concepts appear to project a public image that either observes status differences and social interdependence, or internalizes social sanctions and solidifies itself in the company of others" and is not negotiable on a one-to-one independent-individual basis, but only exists on a social and situation-driven level. These predictions are in line with the use of *kao* and *kao wo tsubusu* in *Hatsugen Komachi* and the survey responses as well as Ting-Toomey's (1988) and Morisaki and Gudykunst's (1994) models.

Mao (1994) also ties the concept of identity and societal relations in the same way as Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) in an outline of face mechanisms in the HC collectivist culture of China. Mao explains Chinese face as encoding "a reputable image that individuals can claim for themselves as they interact with others in a given community…linked to the views of the community and to the community's judgment and

perception of the individual's character and behavior"(460). Mao compares this view of Chinese face to that of Japanese face and facework, positing that the motivating factor in Japanese facework is also "the need to conform to social conventions and to express their desire to be part of the community" (469). This definition is not very different from the *kao* discussed in *Hatsugen Komachi* and tested in the survey. This socially-determined, public face found in Japanese and Chinese culture, Mao argues, is separate from Brown and Levinson's face in forces of directionality. To explain the directionality of face, Mao (1994) introduces *relative face orientation* (See Section 2.9).

This relative face orientation helps to explain *kao wo tsubusu*. *Kao* in this phrase is a face that is oriented outwards towards the ideal social identity, as it is heavily dependent on fulfillment of roles in society. It is also similar to *liăn* in that if individuals and groups live up to their social roles, that is, the socially endorsed code of conduct, *liăn* is maintained. *Kao*, like *liăn,* is also impersonal. It is not the face of the individual that is threatened or lost, but the face of the role they are playing. In this, *kao* and *liăn* can be similarly conceptualized as face with a relative face orientation directed towards the ideal social identity.

5.5 Personal and Relational Face

However, in taking Ting-Toomey's (1988) and Morisaki and Gudykunst's (1994) culturally considerate models of facework, Mao's (1994) relative face orientation, and the results of *kao* found in the *Hatsugen Komachi* and survey data, it is proposed here that a distinction between relational (social roles and obligations directed *outward* towards the

ideal social identity) face and a personal (ideal individual autonomy directed *inward* towards identity) face is also required in the discussion of face and facework.

Building on Mao's (1994) relative face orientation directions, the concept of *relational* and *personal* face should be added to the existing dichotomy classifications of face. That is to say, the face that is directed towards the ideal individual identity is concerned with more individual identity face needs. This *personal face* in contrasted with an outward-facing ideal social identity direction highly concerned with society and the roles that one plays within it is *relational face*. Like Ting-Toomey (1988), Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994), and Mao (1994) have pointed out previously, both individuals and groups possess both kinds of face. However, which face is at stake depends on the situation and the community in which it takes place.

The social face being referred to as *kao* in the examples of *kao wo tsubusu* in the *Hatsugen Komachi* and survey data is an example of this relational face. It is built on the social roles created by culture that individuals must fill. In taking on a role in society, a person takes on a mask given to them by cultural and social norms and expectations. In Japan, it is this *kao* mask that is at stake in the circumstances examined. It is this socially oriented, interdependent role-related face that is labeled *kao* in the grammaticalized phrase *kao wo tsubusu*. Like a mask that one may wear, this face is not a direct personal representation of face. The personal face of the individuals in the situations is not at stake, but rather the face wants of the particular role that they are playing. This role is passed down to individuals and groups through social convention, and when social expectations are not met, then it is this relative face given by others in society that is smashed.

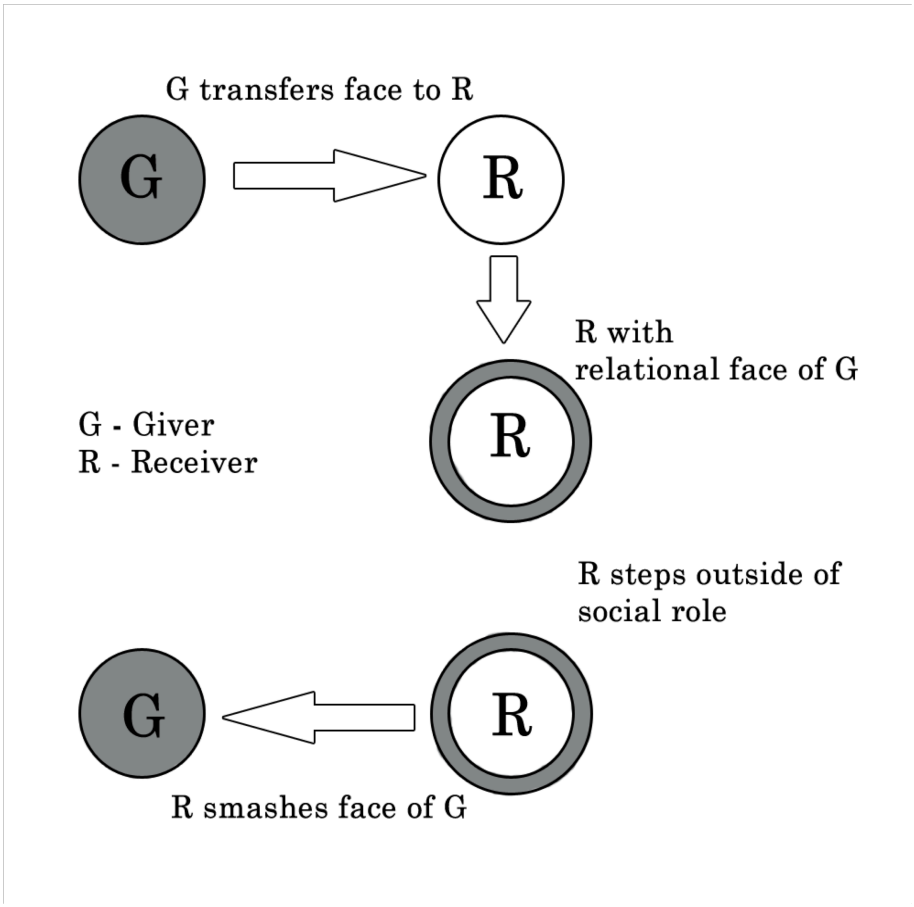

Figure 5.1. Model of facework in *kao wo tsubusu* circumstances in *Hatsugen Komachi*.

The model of relative face in the *Hatsugen Komachi* corpus data in Section 3.5 (repeated here as Figure 5.1). G stands for the Giver of Face, who may be the recommender or the relational face of whomever the receiver borrows in the given circumstances or society itself that outlines the roles which individuals and groups must follow. G can be an individual such as a boss, a group such as a company, or society as defined by the culture concerned. R is the Receiver of Face who wears the relational ideal social identity-oriented face of the Giver when stepping outside the boundaries of social role expectations. R may also be an individual or a group. R's failure to fulfill the social

role given to them by G results in G losing face, which in the case of Japanese, is referred to as *kao.*

The relational face that is transferred in Figure 5.1 can be thought of as a mask that represents a social role that an individual or group is "wearing." *Relational face* with an *outward*-facing, ideal social identity direction is one highly concerned with society and the roles that one plays within that society. As the relational face is directed outwards and is regulated by the community, it cannot be 'smashed' by the individual wearing it (See Figure 5.2). If 'face' is not directed towards the individual, but instead outwards, the face cannot be harmed from the inside (the individual). It can only be smashed by the 'other' in a given facework interaction.

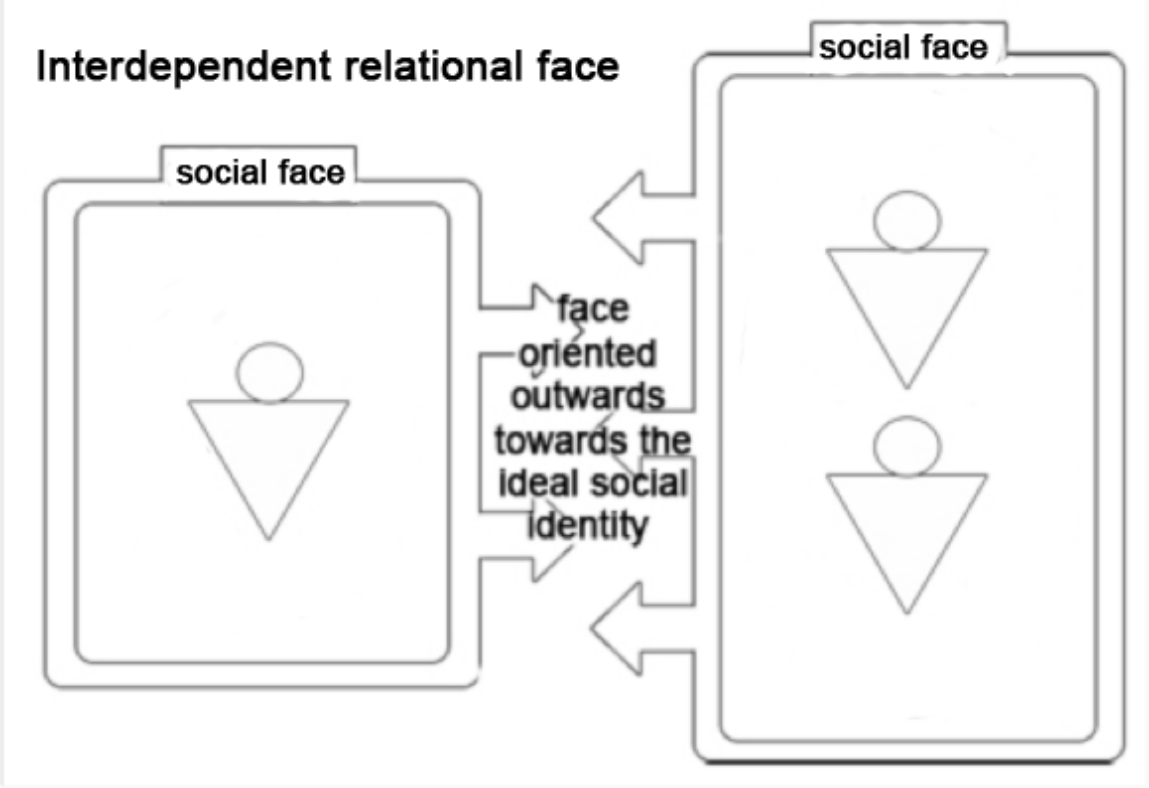

Figure 5.2 Model of interdependent relational face and its directionality. Relational face interactions require three or more interactants to be in play.

These masks are worn when one takes on the role of "husband," "wife," "child," "employee," "boss," "recommended dating partner," "matchmaker," and many others. In collectivistic high-context cultures such as Japan, this mask given to an individual or group is opaque and thus the personal face of the individual or group is not involved. The face threatened is this mask, the relational face, given to an individual or group by the expectations of society and lost when the socially endorsed code of conduct is not followed. This affects those in the interdependent relationship with the individual or group, and as facework seems to be oriented towards the "other" and the community in cultures like Japan, this relational face appears to belong to the "other" in the interaction. That is, it is a mask on loan from the "other" and it is this face that is being referred to as lost in *kao wo tsubusu*. Thus, from this model, the phrase *kao wo tsubusu* has been grammaticalized into the Japanese language. The person who owns face (*kao)* cannot smash his or her own face. *Kao* is always the social face belonging to the other in interaction, and when it is not making a reference to other-face, it is seen as linguistically unacceptable, as found in the survey data.

5.7 Summary

This study began with the questions (1) Who is the owner of *kao* in *kao wo tsubusu*, (2) when face is lost, who is the actor 'smashing' that face? and (3) can one describe a loss of their own face as *kao wo tsubusu*? Through the corpus study and following survey study, these questions can be answered along with beginning to conceptualize the social face represented lexically by the word *kao* in *kao wo tsubusu*.

Kao in *kao wo tsubusu* can be conceptualized as the face of the other in social interactions. *Kao* cannot be lost by own's own actions, but must be 'smashed' by another. One cannot describe a loss of self-face, individual or group, independent or interdependent, using this phrase. Japanese culture in Ting-Toomey's (1988) model is collectivistic and high-context, making the focus of face interactions oriented towards the face of the "other." In terms of Morisaki and Gudykunst's (1994) model, *kao* refers to interdependent mutual-other-face or other-group-face. That is, face that is shared socially, based on the expectations of the community and society at large. *Kao* has the relative face orientation of the ideal social identity that is directed outward and towards others in the community. Finally, *kao* is an example of relational face, as it is the face directed outwards that represents social roles and those expectations attached to those roles by society. The relative face of *kao* is also opaque; it is impersonal and not linked to the individual or group who are filling the social role in question. This opaque "mask" is on loan from other individuals or in-groups, and it is the face of those "others" that is lost when the actor fails to fulfill social expectations and loses the borrowed face.

5.8 Implications

While *kao* and *kao wo tusubusu* are used within the Japanese model of facework as someone else's social face, the other terms *mentsu* and *menmoku* remain undefined. Mao (1994) suggests a difference between Chinese *miànzi* and *liǎn* to represent different kinds of social face. Do *mentsu* and *menmoku* have similar meanings to their Chinese counterparts *miànzi* and *miànmù* that are very different from *kao*? Where do these words fit into the model of Japanese face proposed by Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994), under

what circumstances are these other terms for social face used, and where do they fall along the self-other continuum as well as the independent-interdependent spectrum? Murakami (2004) opened the door to research on these other words for social face with her research of *menmoku.* In changing *menmoku* to *kao* in one of her survey questions, the very nature of whose face was being smashed fundamentally changed. *Kao* could not be used to describe an action carried out on oneself. Instead, the focus was shifted to the face of the other person in the interaction, the other-face. Whether or not *menmoku* labels self-face, as assumed by Murakami, requires further study.

Japanese culture is a collectivistic high-context culture where the face composed of social roles and obligations are the main player in facework. But, does it then follow that the "identity" absolute wants of the ideal individual autonomy are in play in individualistic low-context cultures, and if so, to what extent? Does the ideal social identity and relative face still play roles in facework in these communities? Comparisons between the predominance of personal or relational face in interaction and the culture in which the interactions are situated are yet another step needed in the study of the sociocultural elements of facework.

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Appendix 1: Web links to *Yomiuri Shinbun Komachi Hatsugen*

(number list refers to Data # in Appendix 2)

Data #	Webpage source
1	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2010/0530/319415.htm
2	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2011/1017/452888.htm
3	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2010/0209/293667.htm
4	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2008/0430/181229.htm
5	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2010/0831/343472.htm
6	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2004/0615/003518.htm
7	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2004/1207/024406.htm
8	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2008/0530/186310.htm
9	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2008/0303/172158.htm
10	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2009/0905/260975.htm
11	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2006/0403/084478.htm
12	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2007/1122/157525.htm
13	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2008/1224/218065.htm
14	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2012/0127/478693.htm
15	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2005/0711/048395.htm
16	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2011/0619/418924.htm
17	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2012/0913/539855.htm
18	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2011/1206/466455.htm
19	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2010/0523/317569.htm
20	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2011/0727/429557.htm
21	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2010/0309/300338.htm
22	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2008/0611/188470.htm
23	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2009/0807/255764.htm
24	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2010/0314/301507.htm
25	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2006/0903/101538.htm
26	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2006/0622/093433.htm
27	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2007/0323/124067.htm
28	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2010/0319/302642.htm
29	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2012/1004/544858.htm
30	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2012/0402/496035.htm
31	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2006/0426/087276.htm
32	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2007/0716/138362.htm
33	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2011/0721/428014.htm
34	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2011/0627/421148.htm
35	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2007/0914/147374.htm
36	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2011/1003/449010.htm
37	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2012/0217/484224.htm
38	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2011/0703/422964.htm
39	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2010/1012/354823.htm
40	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2012/0409/497864.htm
41	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2009/0810/256300.htm
42	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2010/0601/319676.htm
43	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2010/0421/309768.htm
44	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2010/0719/332330.htm
45	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2005/0906/056554.htm
46	http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2005/0509/039668.htm

47 http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2004/0606/002029.htm
48 http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2012/0302/488081.htm
49 http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2012/0226/486561.htm
50 http://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/t/2010/0525/317908.htm

Appendix 2: Summary of *Hatsugen Komachi* Articles (50)

Reference	Year	G	Circumstances	R	Face Smashing Action	Situation	Domain
1	2010	Friend	Omiai	Introduced Girl	Introduced girl did not like the writer but did not want to refuse him to not smash face of Friend	recommendation	family
2	2011	Boss	Omiai	Female Employee	If suggested partner does not like female employee, this will smash face of superior	recommendation	work
3	2010	Former Boss	Suggests work	Female Former Employee	If employee dislikes the work or is unsuited for position, then will smash face of former boss	recommendation	work
4	2008	Older Sister-in-law	Gives hand-me down clothes	Younger Sister-in-law	If younger sister-in-law does not call to thank older sister-in-law, then this will smash face of older sister-in-law	obligation	family
4	2008	Older Sister	Gives second-hand things	Younger Sister	If younger sister-in-law does not call to thank older sister, then this will smash face of older sister	obligation	family
5	2010	Grandmother	Omiai	Grandson	If refuses omiai because he already has a girlfriend, then this will smash grandmother's face	recommendation	family

6	2004	Female Friend	Introduces a male friend	Other Female Friend	If other female friend starts to date the male friend without telling the original female friend, then this will smash original female friend face	recommendation	family
6	2004	Boss	Introduces a client	Subordinate	If the subordinate makes a deal with the client without telling the boss, this will smash the boss' face	recommendation	work
7	2004	Wife	Introduces husband's parents to her aunt and uncle	Husband	If wife not husband introduces, then husband's face is smashed.	obligation	family
8	2008	Neighbor	Suggests work	Neighbor (Writer)	If writer hates the job or cannot do the job, this will smash the face of the neighbor	recommendation	family
9	2008	Working Woman	Omiai (with male co-worker)	Sister or Friend	If omiai does not work out, this will smash the face of the working woman	recommendation	family
10	2009	Husband	Gives instructions about how much money to give for husband's friend's shussan iwai	Wife	If the wife the amount that the husband asked, then she smashing the face of her husband	obligation	family
11	2006	Father	Send money for nephew's shussan iwai	Son and Wife	If son and wife do not send money, then they will smash the Father's face.	obligation	family

12	2007	Husband and Siblings	Give a certain amount of money for Otoshidama	Wife	If wife gives more money than the decided amount, this smashes husband and his siblings' face	obligation	family
13	2008	Husband	Tells her to let older sister-in-law stay at house	Wife	If wife complains, this smashes the face of the husband	obligation	family
13	2008	Wife	Tells husband to let her parents stay at house	Husband	If husband complains, this smashes the face of the wife	obligation	family
14	2012	Matchmaker	Omiai	Man	If man lied about himself in his profile and the match failed, then this smashes face of matchmaker	recommendation	family
15	2005	Boss	Gives a wedding gift	Employee	If couple does not send a thank you gift, then this smashes the face of the boss	obligation	work
16	2011	Manager	Introduces a married man for the purpose of dating	Employee (Female)	If employee refuses, she smashes the face of the manager	recommendation	work
17	2012	Friends (couple) of Husband	Tell that husband is lying	Wife	If wife confronts husband directly about lying, this smashes the faces of the friends	obligation	family
18	2011	Senpai (to the Writer)	Societal responsibility	Kouhai	If Kouhai disrespects Sempai, then this smashes the face of the Senpai	obligation	work

18	2011	Senpai (Writer)	Societal responsibility	Kouhai	If Senpai has a disrepectful Kouhai, this also smashes the face of the Senpai	obligation	work
19	2010	Husband of Friend	Omiai	Female Friend of Wife	If female friend complains about friend's husband setting up this omiai, then this smashes the face of the friend's husband.	recommendation	family
20	2011	Husband	Suggests work	Wife	If wife quits job, then this smashes the face of the husband	recommendation	family
21	2010	Matchmaker	Omiai	Woman	If the woman continues to meet with match after deciding not to marry him, this smashes the face of the matchmaker	recommendation	family
22	2008	Older Male Cousin	Suggests work	Younger Cousin	If younger cousin refuses the job offer, this smashes the face of the older cousin	recommendation	family
23	2009	Boss	Omiai	Male Employee	If employee refuses the omiai, even if he has a pregnant girl friend, this will smash the face of the boss	recommendation	work
24	2010	Suggestor (ideal situation)	Suggests work	Ideal Person	If one refuses the job offer, then this smashes the face of the suggestor	recommendation	work

25	2006	Husband and Huband's Parents	Tell to contributelarge amount of money to village festival	Wife	If wife asks her own parents to help pay and makes husband look like he cannot provide, this smashes the face of husband and his parents	obligation	family
26	2006	Married Man	Tells her that he is divorcing his wife for her	Female Co-worker	If co-worker tells their boss about the situation, this smashes the married man's face	obligation	work
27	2007	Acquaintance	Omiai	Woman	If the new couple moves too fast and omiai fails, this smashes the face of the acquaintance	recommendation	family
28	2010	Husband	Tell her to attend events with friends that have children	Wife (childless)	If wife does not participate in events, then this smashes the face of the husband	obligation	family
29	2012	Husband	Tell her to send money to cousin for wedding gift	Wife	If wife does not send money, then this smashes the face of the husband	obligation	family
30	2012	Female Friend	Omiai	Other Female Friend	If other female friend continually cancels all the meetings and then refuses the match, then this smashes the face of the female friend (suggestor).	recommendation	family
31	2006	Husband	Let her write thank you notes to wedding guests	Wife	If wife does not include husband in the writing of notes to husband's	obligation	family

					friends and family, then she smashes her husband's face		
32	2007	Mother	Let the couple be chief mourner's for maternal grandmother	Son and Wife	If son and wife do not consult with mother about details, then this smashes the mother's face	obligation	family
33	2011	Her Parents	Omiai and marriage planning	Daughter and Man	If marriage does not happen and do not pay consolation money to parents, then this smashes the face of the parents	recommendation	family
34	2011	Boss and Female Employee	Omiai	Male Employee	If the male employee refuese the omiai, then this smashes the faces of the female employee and the boss	recommendation	work
35	2007	Kouhai	Gives a large amount of money for wedding gift	Senpai	If Senpai returns money, then this smashes the Kouhai's facie	obligation	work
36	2011	Matchmaker	Omiai	Man	If man continues to harass woman after she refuses him, then this smashes the face of the matchmaker	recommendation	family
37	2012	Mother	Suggests work	Daughter	If the daughter does not work hard at the job, this smashes the face of the mother	recommendation	family

38	2011	Fiance	Omiai (someone from workplace)	Friend of his fiancee	If the omiai fails, then the fiance's face is smashed in his workplace	recommendation	family
39	2010	Boss	Lets employee plan party	Employee	If employee lowers the portion of the fee that the boss has to pay without asking, then this smashes the face of the boss	obligation	work
40	2012	Husband's Family	Go to the funeral of the huband's great aunt	Couple	If they go the great distance to the funeral but other husband family members do not, then this smashes the face of the husband's family	obligation	family
41	2009	Boss	Tell female employee to go to company drinking party	Female Employee	If the female employee does not show up to the party, then this smashes the face of the boss	obligation	work
42	2010	Relatives (in the country)	Ask family in the city to come for family events	Family (in the city)	If the family living in the city does not go to family events in the country, then this smashes the face of the family living in the country	obligation	family
43	2010	Husband	Lets wife receive money from her parents to pay for their new house	Wife	The husband does not thank the parents of the wife because in receiving money from them, his wife smashes his face.	obligation	family

44	2010	Parents	Tell daughter their wishes for her wedding	Daughter	If the daughter does not honor their wishes about how to hold the wedding and related ceremonies, then this smashes the face of the parents.	obligation	family
45	2005	Parents and Friend of Parents	Omiai	Daughter	If the daughter refuses the match, then this smashes the face of the parents and the friend of the parents who suggested the match.	recommendation	family
46	2005	Mother-in-law	Tells future daughter-in-law that they must hold some sort of wedding reception for their side of the family	Daughter-in-law	If daughter-in-law refuses, then this smashes the face of the mother-in-law	obligation	family
47	2004	Husband	Brings friends over that wife has never met	Wife	If wife complains about entertaining people at their house who she does not know, then this smashes the face of the husband.	obligation	family
48	2012	Boss	Pays for the employee and employee's friend's dinners	Employee and friend	If the employee and friend directly return the amount of money spent on the meal to the boss, then this smashes the face of the boss	obligation	work

49	2012	Husband and Husband's Boss	Listen to wife's request for her husband to be transferred closer to where her family lives	Wife	If the wife lies about the husband wanting the transfer when he really does not when speaking to the boss, then this smashes the face of both the boss and the husband	obligation	work
50	2010	Wife	While talking with a female friend, the female friend introduces herself to the husband	Husband	If the husband ignores the friend of his wife trying to make conversation, then this smashes the face of the wife	obligation	family

Appendix 3: Survey (Japanese and English Translation)

3.1 Survey (Japanese)

日本語の慣用表現について調べています。この調査で得られた情報は、調査目的のみに使用されます。個人情報が調査以外の目的で使用されることはありません。また、この調査の結果が、あなたの学業成績の評価に影響することは一切ありません。以上のことを了承の上、調査に協力してくださる方は以下に進んでください。

- あなたの性別を教えてください。（丸をしてください）　　男　　女
- あなたの年齢を教えてください。（丸をしてください）
  １８－２２歳、２３－３０歳、３１－４０歳、４１－５０歳、５１歳以上
- あなたの方言を教えてください。＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

ありがとうございました。続いて次に進んでください。

日本語の表現がある状況下において、どの程度言う事ができるか調べています。次の状況を読んで、その下の文を判断してください。無理か可能かあなたにとってどの程度言えるのか、その程度を数字に〇をして表してください。もしわからなかったら「わかりません」に〇をしてください。

練習

練習問題1）太郎は何をやってもすぐ飽きてしまって続かない。

太郎は三日坊主だ。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

練習問題2）次郎は何をやっても失敗する。

次郎はサルも木から落ちる。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

練習問題１では、“太郎はすぐ飽きて続かない”ので、“三日坊主”が可能な答えとして、７に〇を付けたと思います。練習問題２では、“次郎は何をやっても失敗する”のですが、これを“サルも木から落ちる”と呼ぶのはおかしいですし、その前に“次郎は”があるので日本語として変な文ですから１に〇を付けます。わかりましたか。それでは、以下の状況下で、書いてある文がそのまま言えるか言えないか、順次答えてください。一度答えたら戻らないでください。全部で３０問あります。

1）
私の会社は、自動車を作っているが、景気がよいとき、食品産業にもかかわった。でも景気が悪くなったので、食品産業はやめた。

会社は、食品産業から手を引いた。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

2）首相の安部は、自分の党の意見を聞かなかったばかりか、野党の意見も聞かなかった。

安部は野党に自分の耳を貸さなかった。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

3）川上と婚約者が結婚式の企画をしている。川上達は田舎に住む両親にその近くの教会で行なったら良いと言ったので、両親はそう親戚に伝えた。ところが、東京に住んでいる川上達はやはり自分たちの都合の良いように東京でするよう決めて親戚に伝えた。

川上は自分の顔を潰してしまった

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

4）同僚の山脇は、みんなの先頭に立ってプロジェクトをしていたが、むずかしいくて、うまくいかないので、やめてしまった。

山脇は、さじを投げた。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

5）同じ学部にいた先輩の紹介で就職した同僚の中田は、仕事を始めると、自分に合わない仕事だと感じて、一ヶ月で辞めた。

中田は先輩の顔を潰してしまった。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

6）同僚の山田は、一緒に仕事をすると、評価が気になるらしく、私の邪魔をする。

山田はいつも私の足を引っ張る

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

7）私は4年結婚していて、ずっとマンションに住んでいる。今年、家を買おうと思って、実家に頭金を頼んだ。お金が足りると思ったし、夫は海外出張なので、夫には相談せず、夫の実家にも頼まなかった。ところがそれが、夫の実家にばれてしまった。

私は自分の顔を潰してしまった。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

8）後輩の須田は、仕事中困っていたので同僚が手伝ってあげた。

同僚は私に須田の手を貸した。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

９）私は学校の先輩の紹介で就職しましたが、給料も安いし、つまらないので、一ヶ月半で辞めました。

私は先輩の顔を潰してしまった。

（無理）１ … ２ … ３ … ４ … ５ … ６ …7（可能）　わかりません

１０）私は、社長がわけのわからないことばかり言うので、社長の言うことを聞かなかった。

私は社長に耳を貸さなかった。

（無理）１ … ２ … ３ … ４ … ５ … ６ …7（可能）　わかりません

１１）上野は5年結婚していて、ずっとマンションに住んでいる。今年、家を買おうと思い、実家に頭金を頼んだ。それでお金が足りると思い、夫は海外出張中なので相談せず、夫の実家にも頼まなかった。しかしそれが、夫の実家にばれてしまった。

上野は自分の顔を潰してしまった。

（無理）１ … ２ … ３ … ４ … ５ … ６ …7（可能）　わかりません

１２）同僚の澤田は、一緒に仕事をすると、自分の評価が気になるらしく、私の邪魔をする。

澤田はいつも自分の足を引っ張る。

（無理）１ … ２ … ３ … ４ … ５ … ６ …7（可能）　わかりません

１３）本田と彼の婚約者が結婚式と披露宴の企画をしている。本田達は田舎に住む両親にその近くで行なうと言ったので、よろこんだ両親はそう親戚に伝えた。ところが、神戸に住む本田達はやはり自分たちの都合の良いように神戸でするよう決めて親戚に伝えた。

本田は両親の顔を潰してしまった。

（無理）１ … ２ … ３ … ４ … ５ … ６ …7（可能）　わかりません

１４）私は反対したのだが、みんながそのプロジェクトをするといったので、グループの一員として一緒にがんばろうと決心した。

私は、自分の腹をくくった。

（無理）１ … ２ … ３ … ４ … ５ … ６ …7（可能）　わかりません

１５）私の先輩の紹介で就職した同僚の田中は、仕事を始めると、自分に合わないと言って、半月で辞めた。

田中は自分の顔を潰してしまった。

（無理）１ … ２ … ３ … ４ … ５ … ６ …7（可能）　わかりません

１６）同僚の山下は、仕事中困っていたので手伝ってあげた。

私は山下に手を貸した。

（無理）１ … ２ … ３ … ４ … ５ … ６ …7（可能）　わかりません

１７）同僚の本山は、一緒に仕事をしたとき、私の邪魔をして、課長にしかられた。

私は本山のせいで痛い目にあった。

（無理）１ ... ２ ... ３ ... ４ ... ５ ... ６ ...7（可能）　わかりません

１８）私は婚約者と結婚式と披露宴の企画をしている。両親に実家の近くですると伝えたので、両親はそう親戚に伝えた。しかし、横浜に住む私達はやはり自分たちの都合の良いように横浜でしようと思い、親戚に伝えた。

私は両親の顔を潰してしまった。

（無理）１ ... ２ ... ３ ... ４ ... ５ ... ６ ...7（可能）　わかりません

１９）同僚の木下は、不器用で箱をくるむのに困っていたので手伝ってやった。

私は木下に自分の手を貸した。

（無理）１ ... ２ ... ３ ... ４ ... ５ ... ６ ...7（可能）　わかりません

２０）後輩の佐藤は、旦那と一緒に来て話をすると、自分の優位性を見せたいらしく、旦那の邪魔をする。

佐藤はいつも旦那の足を引っ張る。

（無理）１ ... ２ ... ３ ... ４ ... ５ ... ６ ...7（可能）　わかりません

２１）
私は学部の先輩の紹介で就職しましたが、給料も安いし、つまらないので、二ヶ月で辞めました。

私は自分の顔を潰してしまった。

（無理）１ ... ２ ... ３ ... ４ ... ５ ... ６ ...7（可能）　わかりません

２２）安田議員は、自分の党の意見を聞かなかったばかりか、野党の意見も聞かなかった。

安田は野党に私の耳を貸さなかった。

（無理）１ ... ２ ... ３ ... ４ ... ５ ... ６ ...7（可能）　わかりません

２３）藤田先輩は、同僚の木村と一緒にプロジェクトをしていたが、むずかしいくてうまくいかないので、やめてしまった。

藤田先輩は、自分のさじを投げた。

（無理）１ ... ２ ... ３ ... ４ ... ５ ... ６ ...7（可能）　わかりません

２４）野上さんは6年結婚していて、ずっとマンションに住んでいます。今年、いよいよ家を買おうと思って、実家に頭金のお金を頼みました。お金が足りると思ったし、夫は海外出張なので、夫には相談せず、夫の実家にも頼みませんでした。ところがそれが、夫の実家に知れてしまいました。

野上さんは旦那さんの顔を潰してしまった。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

２５）首相の安藤は、自分の党の意見を聞かなかったばかりか、野党の意見も聞かなかった。

安藤は野党の耳を貸さなかった。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

２６）先輩の山本さんは、一緒に仕事をしているが、私の邪魔をして、課長にしかられた。

山本は痛い目にあった。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

２７）私は3年結婚していて、ずっとマンションに住んでいる。いよいよ家を買おうと思って、実家に頭金を頼んだ。それで足りると思ったので、夫には相談せず、夫の実家にも頼まなかった。ところがそれが、夫の実家にわかってしまった。

私は夫の顔を潰してしまった。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

２８）後輩の鈴木は、計算が不得意で困っていたので手伝ってやった。

鈴木は私に同僚の手を貸した。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

２９）私は婚約者と結婚式と披露宴の企画をしている。長野の田舎に住む両親に実家の近くですると言ったので、両親はそう計画して親戚に伝えた。でも、横浜に住む私達はやはり自分たちの都合の良いように横浜に決めて親戚に伝えました。

私は自分の顔を潰してしまった。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

３０）下田は反対したのだが、みんながそのプロジェクトをするといったので、グループの一員として一緒にがんばろうと思った。

私は、下田の腹をくくった。

（無理）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（可能）　わかりません

ご協力ありがとうございました。

3.2 Survey (English translation)

This study investigates Japanese idioms. The information collected in this survey will only be used for the purpose of this study. Personal information will not be used outside of the purpose of this study. Additionally, the results of the survey will not affect your grade for any of your classes. If you consent to the above, then please continue to the questions below.

- What is your gender? （Please circle） M F
- What is your age range?(Please circle)
  18-22 years old, 23-30 yrs old, 31-40 yrs old, 41-50 yrs old, 51 yrs old and above
- Do you speak a dialect? Please explain. _____

Thank you. Please continue to the next section.

This survey investigates the degree to which the following sentences can be used to describe the situations below. Read the situation and then analyze the sentence below. Please circle the degree to which you would be able to say the sentences in the given situation. If you do not understand the situation or the sentence, please circle "I don't understand".

Practice.

Practice 1) Whatever Taro does, he gets bored with it quickly and does not continue.

Taro is someone who cannot stick to doing anything.

（impossible） 1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7 （acceptable） I don't understand

Pratice 2) Whatever Jiro does, he fails.

Even Jiro makes mistakes.

（impossible） 1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7 （acceptable） I don't understand

In practice situation 1,it says "Taro gets bored and doesn't continue", so "Taro is someone who cannot stick to doing anything" is an acceptable answer, so "7"would be circled. In practice situation 2, it says"whatever Jiro does, he fails", but saying that "even Jiro fails" in this case would be strange、and having "Jiro" appear as the subject is strange grammar to begin with, thus "1" would be circled. Do you understand how to do this survey? Then, for the situations below、please decide to what degree the following sentences can be said and answer accordingly. If you answer a question once, please do not go back and change it. There will be 30 questions.

1) My company makes cars. But when the economy was good, we also dabbled in the food industry. Now that the economy is bad, however, we had to give up the food business.

The company pulled its hand from the food industry.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

2) Prime Minister Abe didn't just not listen to the opinions of his party, but he didn't listen to opinions of the opposing party either.

Abe did not lend his ears to the opposing party.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

3) Kawakami and his fiancée are planning their wedding. Kawakami's parents live in the country, so they said they would like it if the wedding was held at a church near to them. However, since Kawakami and his fiancée live in Tokyo, they told their parents they would hold their wedding there.

Kawakami smashed his own face.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

4) My colleague Yamawaki took on the role of project leader, but then thought it was hard and wouldn't go well, so he quit.

Yamawaki threw the spoon.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

5) Tanaka was recommended for a job by a senior in his department who went to the same college, but after he started the job, he felt it didn't suit him and he quit after a month.

Tanaka smashed his senior's face.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

6) Whenever I work with Yamada, he worries too much about criticism and gets in my way.

Yamada is always pulling my legs out from under me.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

7) I have been married for 4 years and have been living in an apartment complex since then. This year I finally decided to buy a house and asked my parents for a down payment. I thought that money would be enough, and my husband was on a business trip, so without consulting him, I did not ask her in-laws for money. But then they found out.

I smashed my own face.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

8) My junior Suda got into trouble at work, but his colleagues helped him out.

Suda's colleagues lent me his hands.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

9) I was recommended for a job by my senior, but the pay was bad and the work was boring, so I quit after two months.

I smashed my senior's face.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

10) My company president is always saying unreasonable things so I didn't listen to him.

I did not lend my boss my ears.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

11) Ueno has been married for 5 years and has been living in an apartment complex since then. This year she finally decided to buy a house and asked her parents for a down payment. She thought that money would be enough, and her husband was on a business trip, so without consulting him, she did not ask her in-laws for money. But then they found out anyway.

Ueno smashed her own face.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

12) Whenever I work with Sawada, she worries about getting criticized so much that she gets in my way.

Sawada is always pulling her own legs out from under her.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

13) Honda and his fiancée are planning their wedding and reception. Honda's thrilled parents live in the country, so they said they would like it if it was held near to them. However, since Honda and his fiancée live in Kobe, they told their parents they would hold their wedding in Kobe.

Honda smashed his parents' faces.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

14) I was against the project that everyone wanted to do, but I decided to keep going as a member of the group.

I bundled my own stomach.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

15) My senior recommended work to my colleague Tanaka, but after he started to work, he said the job didn't suit him and quit after half a month.

Tanaka smashed his own face.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

16) My colleague Yamashita was in trouble while we were working so I helped him out.

I lent Yamashita my hand.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

17) When I worked with Motoyama, he ended up getting in my way and got yelled at by our boss.

Motoyama had painful time because of me.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

18) My fiancée/fiancé and I are planning our wedding celebration. My parents live in the country, so they said they would like it if the reception was held closer to them. But since we live in Yokohama, we told our parents that holding the reception there would be best.

I smashed my parents' faces.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

19) My colleague Kishida clumsily tried to pack a shelf but was having lots of trouble with it so I helped her out.

I lent my own hands to Kishida.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

20) Whenever I talk with my junior Sato and her husband, she is always trying to assert her dominance and causing him trouble.

Sato is always pulling her husband's legs out from under him.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

21) I was recommended for a job by my senior, but the pay was bad and the work was boring, so I quit after two months.

I smashed my own face.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

22) Congressman Yasuda not only didn't listen to the opinions of his own party, but also didn't listen to the opinions of the opposing party.

Yasuda lent my ears to the opposing party.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

23) Fujita and Kimura were doing a project together, but it was hard and started to look like it wasn't going to turn out well, so they quit.

Fujita threw his own spoon.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable）　I don't understand

24) Nogami has been married for 6 years and has been living in an apartment complex since then. This year she finally decided to buy a house and asked her parents for a down payment. She

thought that money would be enough, and her husband was on a business trip, so without consulting him, she did not ask her in-laws for money. She later announced this to her in-laws.

Nogami smashed her husband's face.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

25) Prime Minister Ando not only did not listen to the opinions of his party, but also did not listen to the opinions of the opposing party.

Ando did not lend the ears of the opposing party.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

26) My senior Yamamoto was working with me, but he was always distracting me so he got yelled at by our boss.

Yamamoto had a painful experience.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

27) I have been married for 3 years and have been living in an apartment complex. This year I finally decided to buy a house, so I asked my parents for money. I thought that would be enough, so without consulting my husband, I did not ask my in-laws for money. But unfortunately they found out.

I smashed my husband's face.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

28) My junior Suzuki's weak point is calculations so he was having a lot of trouble. Because of that I helped him out.

Suzuki lent me the hands of our colleagues.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

29) My fiancée/fiancé and I are planning our wedding and reception. We told my parents who live in the country in Nagano that we would hold it there and told our relatives so. But since we live in Yokohama, we told our relatives we decided that holding it in Yokohama would be best.

I smashed my own face.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

30) Shimoda was against the project that everyone was working on, but he thought he would try to continue a member of the group anyway.

I bundled Shimoda's stomach.

（impossible）1 ... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...7（acceptable） I don't understand

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Appendix 4: Survey Data

4.1 Data Collected in Kansai

speaker	gender	age	hogen	Q3 1AA	Q5 3AB	Q7 2II	Q9 3IA	Q11 2AA	Q13 1AB	Q15 3AA	Q18 1IA	Q21 3II	Q24 2AB	Q27 2IA	Q29 1II
K01	F	1	kansai	W	7	1	1	W	W	7	3	7	3	W	2
K02	F	1	kansai	1	7	1	6	1	3	1	2	1	6	7	3
K03	F	1	yamaguchi	6	2	1	6	W	6	4	7	1	1	7	4
K04	F	1	kansai	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	7	1
K05	F	1	kansai	3	1	1	4	1	3	1	4	1	4	5	1
K06	F	1	hyojun	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	W	4	4	4	4
K07	F	1	okayama	1	7	1	7	W	7	1	7	1	1	1	5
K08	F	1	kansai	1	1	7	7	7	7	1	7	1	7	7	1
K09	F	1	kansai	2	3	1	5	2	1	2	4	W	2	5	5
K10	F	1	kagoshima	2	2	1	6	2	6	2	6	1	5	5	1
K11	F	1	osaka	1	7	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
K12	F	1	osaka	1	7	1	7	1	1	7	1	7	7	1	1
K13	F	1	kobe	2	7	1	7	1	1	6	2	1	7	7	1
K14	F	1	hyogo	1	7	1	7	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
K15	F	1	kansai	1	7	1	7	4	2	1	4	1	7	7	2

K16	F	1	kansai	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	W	7	1
K17	F	1	kansai	W	6	2	W	2	W	1	2	2	2	2	2
K18	F	1	hyogo	2	6	1	7	2	7	3	7	1	7	7	1
K19	F	1	banshu	7	6	7	7	7	7	7	6	7	7	7	7
K20	F	1	kansai	1	1	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
K21	F	1	kansai	4	W	5	4	5	0	7	0	5	W	5	W
K22	F	1	awaji	1	7	1	6	1	2	1	2	1	3	7	3
K23	F	1	kansai	4	7	2	7	1	7	3	7	2	4	5	4
K24	F	1	toyama	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
K25	F	1	banshu	1	7	1	7	1	6	1	6	1	6	7	1
K26	M	4	kansai	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	5	2	1
K27	F	3	kansai	1	3	1	7	1	6	1	6	1	3	6	1
K28	M	5	osaka	1	6	1	7	1	4	1	4	1	5	5	1
K29	M	5	kansai	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	6	7	W
K30	F	5	kansai	W	7	4	7	W	6	7	7	1	W	6	1
K31	F	5	kansai	1	7	1	7	4	7	1	7	1	7	4	1
K32	F	5	kansai	1	1	1	7	1	1	7	1	1	4	4	1

K33	F	5	kansai	1	7	2	7	2	7	7	3	1	7	7	1
K34	M	3	kansai	1	1	1	1	1	7	1	7	1	1	1	1
K35	F	3	kansai	1	6	1	7	1	7	5	6	1	6	6	1

4.2 Data Collected in Tokyo

speaker	gender	age	hogen	Q3	Q5	Q7	Q9	Q11	Q13	Q15	Q18	Q21	Q24	Q27	Q29
				2AA	1AB	3II	1IA	3AA	2AB	1AA	2IA	1II	3AB	3IA	2II
T01	F	2	yamanashi	1	5	2	6	2	2	2	5	2	2	2	3
T02	F	1	kobe	1	6	1	7	1	2	1	7	1	2	7	1
T03	F	1	hyojun	6	7	2	7	1	7	1	7	1	1	7	1
T04	M	2	saitama	6	4	1	3	1	3	1	2	1	4	3	1
T05	F	1	kagawa	1	6	1	7	1	5	1	7	1	2	2	1
T06	F	1	yokohama	3	5	2	6	2	5	1	6	1	5	5	1
T07	M	2	ibaraki	1	7	3	7	3	7	1	3	1	1	7	2
T08	F	1	gunma	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	1	W	1
T09	F	1	niigata	2	5	1	4	1	7	1	6	3	1	5	4
T10	F	1	hyojun	2	6	2	4	3	6	3	6	2	5	6	1
T11	M	1	hyojun	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	5	7	1
T12	M	1	hyojun	1	7	4	7	1	7	1	7	1	2	3	3
T13	M	1	hyojun	1	5	3	4	3	7	3	3	1	1	4	3
T14	M	2	hyojun	5	5	2	5	3	5	5	5	4	3	3	3
T15	M	1	hyojun	1	3	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	6	1
T16	M	5	hyojun	5	5	2	4	5	5	5	5	4	3	5	5
T17	F	5	hyojun	7	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	7	7	7	1
T18	M	1	hyojun	1	7	2	7	1	6	2	7	1	6	5	1
T19	F	5	hyojun	1	6	1	7	1	6	1	4	1	1	4	1
T20	F	1	osaka	1	6	1	7	1	1	1	6	1	1	6	1
T21	F	1	yokohama	1	5	1	3	1	5	1	3	1	4	1	1
T22	M	1	hyojun	1	7	1	7	2	7	1	1	1	3	4	1
T23	M	2	hyojun	4	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	3	1	1
T24	M	3	yamaguchi	1	7	1	6	W	6	W	7	1	1	6	W
T25	F	1	saitama	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	1	7	1
T26	F	1	mikawa	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	1	1	7	1	1

4.3 University of Shizuoka Data

speaker	gender	age	hogen	Q3 2AA	Q5 1AB	Q7 3II	Q9 1IA	Q11 3AA	Q13 2AB	Q15 1AA	Q18 2IA	Q21 1II	Q24 3AB	Q27 3IA	Q29 2II
S01	F	1	shizuoka	3	3	1	2	4	4	1	1	1	4	5	2
S02	F	1	mikawa	3	6	3	7	4	5	4	5	4	3	7	5
S03	F	1	katsuyama	1	7	W	7	0	4	1	0	1	W	7	1
S04	F	1	enshu	1	6	1	7	1	2	1	1	1	1	7	1
S05	F	1	enshu	2	7	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	1
S06	F	1	hokkaido	1	7	2	5	1	5	2	4	1	2	6	3
S07	F	1	hida	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	1	7	1
S08	F	1	ibaraki	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
S09	F	1	enshu	1	6	1	6	1	6	6	6	1	6	6	1
S10	F	1	shizuoka	1	5	2	5	2	6	2	5	2	3	5	1
S11	F	1	shizuoka	1	6	1	6	1	5	1	5	1	1	W	1
S12	F	1	shizuoka	1	7	7	7	7	7	1	7	1	5	7	1
S13	F	1	shizuoka	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	6	7	1
S14	F	1	shizuoka	1	7	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	7	7	7
S15	F	1	shizuoka	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	1	5	1
S16	F	1	shizuoka	3	6	2	3	3	4	1	3	1	1	6	1
S17	F	1	shizuoka	2	6	2	6	2	2	1	4	1	4	6	1
S18	F	1	kyushu, nagoya, shizuoka	1	7	3	7	1	7	1	7	1	5	7	1
S19	F	1	shizuoka	2	6	2	6	3	5	2	6	2	4	6	2
S20	F	1	shizuoka	2	7	2	6	2	2	1	2	1	1	5	2
S21	F	1	owari	5	7	4	7	5	6	4	4	4	1	5	2
S22	F	1	enshu	1	7	1	7	1	6	1	6	1	2	4	1
S23	M	1	mie	4	7	2	7	4	5	2	5	1	3	6	6
S24	F	1	hokkaido	1	6	1	6	2	6	1	7	1	2	5	2
S25	F	1	gifu	1	7	3	7	2	3	1	5	1	1	6	1

Appendix 5: Survey Results by Population

5.1 Summary

	CHUBU						KANSAI						KANTO					
	FIRST		THIRD		ALL		FIRST		THIRD		ALL		FIRST		THIRD		ALL	
	SELF	OTHER	SELF	OTHER	SELF	OTHER	SELF	OTHER	SELF	OTHER	SELF	OTHER	SELF	OTHER	SELF	OTHER	SELF	OTHER
MEAN	1.7	5.5	1.9	5.3	1.8	5.4	1.7	5.3	2.0	4.8	1.9	5.1	1.8	4.8	2.0	5.2	1.9	5.0
DEVM	+1.4	-1.8	+1.4	-1.7	+1.4	-1.7	+1.6	-2.3	+2.0	–2.5	+1.8	-2.4	+1.2	-2.0	+1.8	-1.8	+1.4	-1.9
N	62	61	62	62	124	123	99	99	96	95	195	194	63	61	63	62	126	123

Table A1. Summary of Chubu, Kansai, and Kanto response groups, divided by first person, third person, and all in categories of self-face and other-face. Mean is the average of the responses for each category, DEVM is the deviation from the mean, and N denotes the number of responses for each type of test question. First person-Self=II, Other=IA. Third person Self=AA, Other=AB. All Self=IA and AA. All Other=IA and AB.

	CHUBU		KANSAI		KANTO		ALL	
	SELF	OTHER	SELF	OTHER	SELF	OTHER	SELF	OTHER
MEAN	1.8	5.4	1.9	5.1	1.9	5.0	1.9	5.1
DEV.M	1.4	1.7	1.8	2.4	1.4	1.9	1.6	2.1
N	124	123	195	194	126	123	445	440

Table A2. Summary of Chubu, Kansai, Kanto, and combined group averages, deviation from the mean, and number of tokens per category of survey responses. . First person-Self=II, Other=IA. Third person Self=AA, Other=AB. All Self=IA and AA. All Other=IA and AB.

5.2 Results for Chubu Population

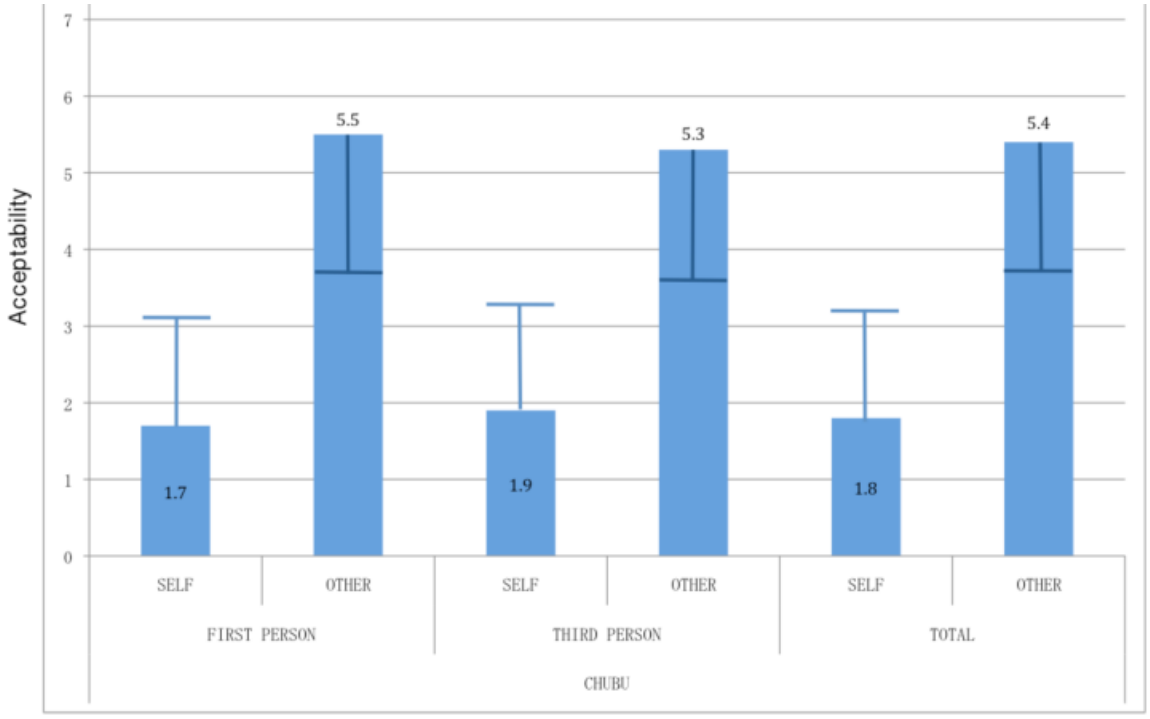

Figure A1. Summary of responses for Chubu region test group showing the combined group average and the deviation from the mean. First person-Self=II, Other=IA. Third person Self=AA, Other=AB. All Self=IA and AA. All Other=IA and AB.

5.3 Results for Kansai Population

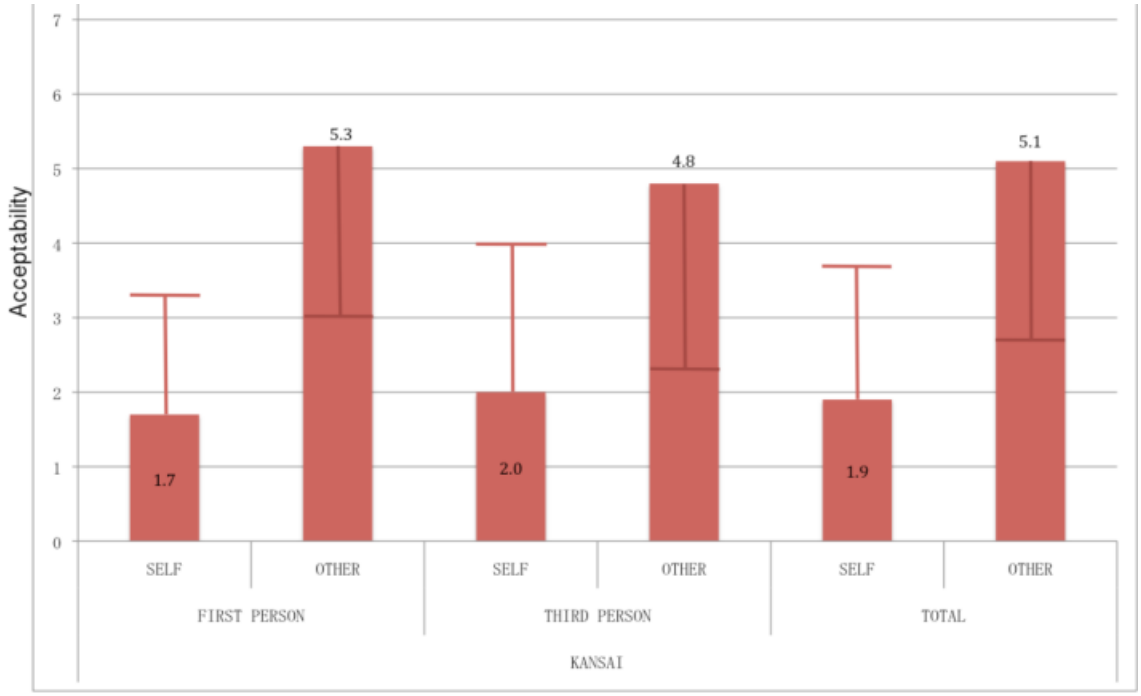

Figure A2. Summary of responses for Kansai region test group showing the combined group average and the deviation from the mean. First person-Self=II, Other=IA. Third person Self=AA, Other=AB. All Self=IA and AA. All Other=IA and AB.

5.4 Results for Kanto Population

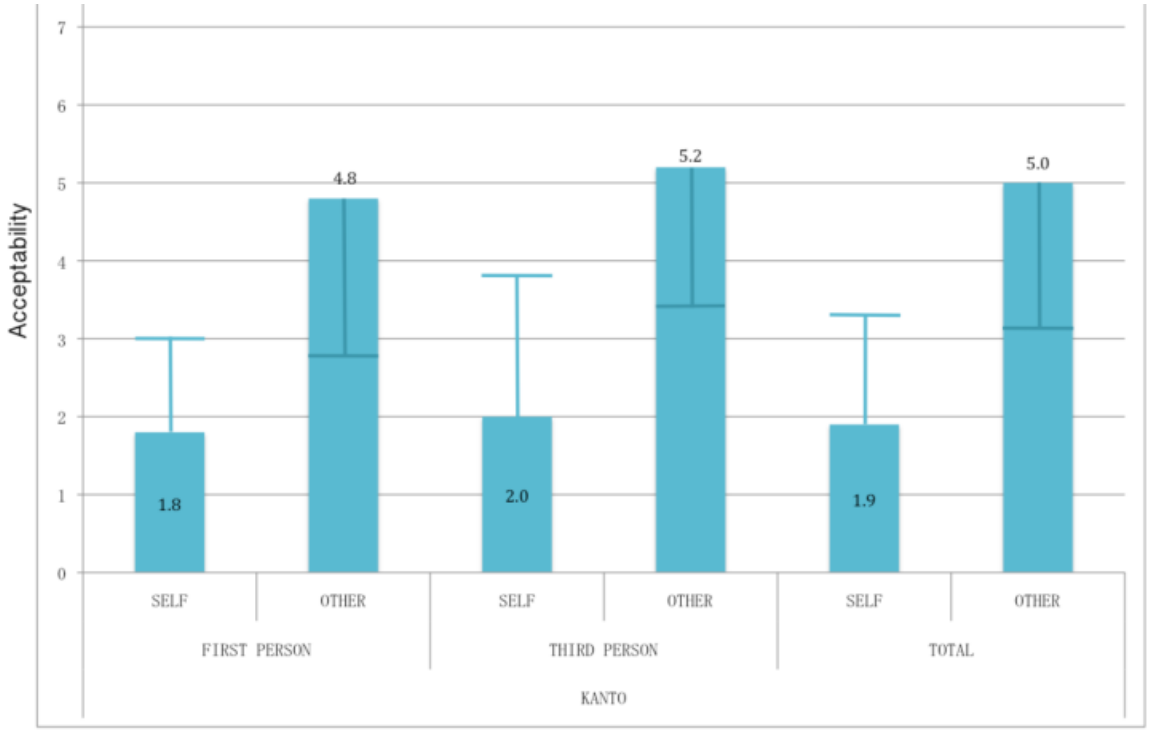

Figure A3. Summary of responses for Kanto region test group showing the combined group average and the deviation from the mean. . First person-Self=II, Other=IA. Third person Self=AA, Other=AB. All Self=IA and AA. All Other=IA and AB.